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ABSTRACT

Proceedings of the International Symposium on Family Policy in Europe are contained in this document. (Most proceedings are in English, but some are in French, one is in German, and one is in Italian.) Presentations focused basically on family policy within European countries, with attention given to such issues as socialist, noncentralized, and nongovernmental approaches to policy formation and implementation. Needs of the family in the 1980s were considered by several of the participants; some of these requirements concerned employment policies, social security within a family perspective, housing, health, family legislation, family life education, social and counseling services, the role of the Church in family policy, and family problems such as marital breakup. Strategies were suggested for implementing coordinated family policy among the European nations. (Author/DB)

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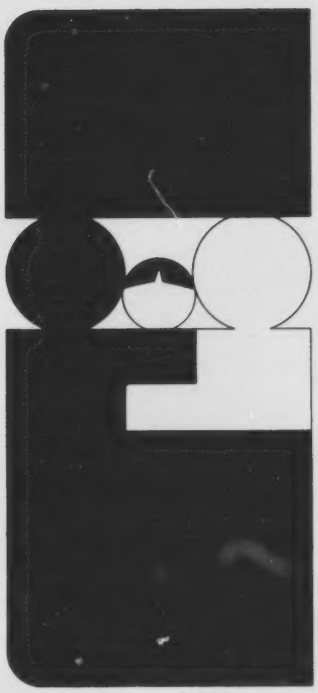

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FAMILY POLICY IN EUROPE

LA POLITIQUE FAMILIALE EN EUROPE

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MILANO, 26-29 GIUGNO 1980

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FAMILY POLICY IN EUROPE

LA POLITIQUE FAMILIALE EN EUROPE

PS012393

INTERNATIONAL SYMPOSIUM
SYMPOSIUM INTERNATIONAL

Milano, 26-29 giugno 1980

UCI 3

INTRODUCTION

FAMILY POLICY IN EUROPE was the theme of our International Symposium held in Milano from the 26th. to the 29th. June, 1980. The meeting was held under the patronage of the General Secretariate of the COUNCIL OF EUROPE and in collaboration with CO.FA.CE (Committee of Family Organisations of the European Community) of Brussels.

These Proceedings are the result of the Symposium. The present volume includes the documents of the Symposium in English and French. The Italian edition has been printed seperately by the publisher Franco Angeli, Milano. In this way we hope to reach through the printed Italian edition a wide range of readerships, as the subject is in some ways new to Italy.

However, it is also hoped that this volume will not only interest the 350 participants at the Congress, who represented 24 countries, but also all those governmental and non-governmental organisations interested in the family. One of the emerging conclusions of this Symposium was the need to awaken public interest, at all levels, for the promotion of a comprehensive family policy.At this both in capitalist and socialist countries here exist a fragmentary policy of aid to families. What is wanted, as appears from the experiences at this Congress, is an overall family policy with the involvement of families and their organisations.

The CENTRO INTERNAZIONALE STUDI FAMIGLIA (CISF) wishes to thank all those who contributed towards the success of this meeting. First and fore most is the GRUPPO PERIODICI PAOLINI, publishers of the weekly illustrated FAMIGLIA CRISTIANA and of Father Leonardo Zega, the Director.

Our thanks also go to the:

. Secretary General of the Council of Europe, Strasbourg

. Directorate of Legal Affairs and the Division of Social Affairs of the Council of Europe

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. Director General of Social Affairs of the European Community, Brussels
. CO.FA.CE.
. International Union of Family Organisation, Paris
. World Council of Churches, Ginevra
. Bureau International Catholique de l'Enfance, Ginevra
. Consiglio Italiano del Movimento Europeo, Roma
. Associazione Giornalisti Europei, Roma
. Unione Mondiale Democratica Cristiana, Roma
. The Johnson Foundation, Racine (USA)
. Rockford College Institute, Rockford (USA)
. The Columbia University School of Social Work, New York

Charles G. Vella
Director
Centro Internazionale
Studi Famiglia

POLITICA_FAMILIARE
IN_EUROPA

The Italian edition of these Proceedings, published by Franco Angeli, Milan, is available on order from the:

CENTRO INTERNAZIONALE STUDI FAMIGLIA
Via Giotto 36
20145 MILANO, Italy

INTRODUCTION

La POLITIQUE FAMILIALE EN EUROPE a été le thème de notre Symposium International qui a eu lieu de 26 à 29 juin 1980 à Milan. Cette rencontre a obtenu le patronage du Secrétariat Général du CONSEIL DE L'EUROPE et la collaboration de la CO. FA.CE. (Comité des Organisations Familiales près la Communauté Européenne) de Bruxelles.

Ces Actes sont le resultat de ce Symposium. Ce volume comprend les documents du Congrès en Anglais et en Français. L'édition italienne a été imprimée séparément par l'éditeur Franco Angeli de Milan. De cette façon nous souhaitons de réjoindre, par l'édition italienne, un nombre plus grand de lecturs, vu que ce sujet est à peu près nouveau pour l'Italie.

Cependant, on souhaite que ce volume n'intéresse pas seulement les 350 participants au Symposium en représentance de 24 Pays, mais bien également les organisations gouvernementales et non-gouvernementales intéressées par les problèmes concernant la famille. L'une des conclusions émergeant par le Symposium est la nécessité de susciter l'intérêt public a tous les niveau pour la promotion d'une politique familiale globale. Actuellement, il n'existe, soit dans les Pays capitalistes, soit dans les Pays socialistes, qu'une politique fragmentaore pour le soutien aux familles. Ce que l'on recherche, selon ce qui apparaît des expériences présentées à ce Congrès, est une politique familiale touchant à tous les aspects et impliquant directement les familles et leurs organisations.

Le CENTRO INTERNAZIONALE STUDI FAMIGLIA (CISF) désire remercier tous ceux qui ont contribué au succès de ce Congrès, et particulièrement le GRUPPO PERIODICI PAOLINI, éditeur de l'hebdomandaire illustré FAMIGLIA CRISTIANA et son Directeur, Père Leonardo Zega.

Nous remercions en outre:

. Le Secrètaire Général du Conseil de l'Europe, Strasbourg
. Le Directorate of Legal Affairs et la Division des Affaires Sociales du Conseil de l'Europe

8)

. Le Directeur Général des Affaires Sociales de la Communauté Européenne, Bruxelles
. La CO.FA.CE.
. L'Union Internationale des Organisations Familiales,Paris
. Le Conseil Mondial des Eglises de Génève
. Le Bureau International Catholique de l'Enfance, de Génève
. Consiglio Italiano del Movimento Europeo, Roma
. Associazione Giornalisti Europei, Roma
. Unione Mondiale Democratica Cristiana, Roma
. The Johnson Foundation, Racine (USA)
. Rockford College Institute, Rockford (USA)
. The Columbia University School of Social Work, New York

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Studi Famiglia

POLITICA FAMILIARE
IN EUROPA

Ces Actes ont été publiés en Italien par la maison d'éditions Franco Angeli, Milan, pour commander les actes ecrivez a:

CENTRO INTERNAZIONALE STUDI FAMIGLIA
Via Giotto 36
20145 MILANO, Italy

P R O G R A M M E

Thursday, June 26th

Official opening and introduction of the general theme, defining clearly the terms and giving a panorama of three models of family policy.

18.00 Plenary Session

Welcome and Introduction
. Charles G. Vella (Italy)

Opening of Symposium
. Hon. Franco Foschi, Minister of Labour an Social Welfare (Italy)

Introductory Address: A national and european policy for and with families
. Joseph Gilles (CO.FA.CE)

Reports on different approaches to family policy:

1. The State Centered example of family policy
   . Andrzej Wielowyeski (Poland)
2. Patterns of non-centralized family policy
   . Roger Burnel (France)
3. Non-governmental activies/partecipation in family policy
   . Frans Van Mechelen (Belgium)

Reception for delegates and guests

Friday, June 27th.

An analysis of functions and an particulation of some of the needs of the family in the 80's. The communications will be followed by Work Groups.

9.00 Plenary Session

Family functions and needs in the social context of the '80's
. Wilfried A.Dumon (Belgium)

Recent trends in attitudes and behaviour affecting the family
. Louis Roussel (France)

10.30 Break

10)

11.00 Plenary Session

Communications (15 mins) on the various aspects of family policy

General Introduction
. Max Wingen (FDR)

1. Family and employment policies
.Claudine Hodgens (Council of Europe)
2. Social Security in family perspective
.Albert Delpérée (Belgium)
3. Housing
.Jan Trost (Sweden)
4. Health, the family and the child
. Sergio Nordio (O.M.S.)

15.00 Plenary Session

5. Emigration
.Antonio Perotti (France)
6. Family Law
.Margaret Killerby (Council of Europe)
7. Women and Family
.Tina Anselmi (Italy)
8. Education in the formation and development of the family
. Klaus Schleicher (FDR)
9. Social and Counselling Services
. Nicholas Coote (Great Britain)
10. Mass media and the family
. Gustavo Selva (Italy)

17.00 Break

17.30 - 19.30 Workshops developing the themes of the communications (total time available 7 hrs.)

Saturday, June 28th

The groups will continue to study the various dimensions of family policy and their inter-relationships proposing improvements for family policy.

9.00 Plenary Session

Interaction of family policy and politics
. Michael Fogarty (Great Britain)

Family Power Social Change
. Jean Masamba Ma Mpolo (World Council of Churches)

10.00 Break

10.15 - 13.00 Workshops

15.00 Plenary Session

Inter-relationships among the different aspects of family policy: is a unifying approach possible?
Pierpaolo Donati (Italy)

16.00 Break

17.00 - 19.00 Workshops: Formulation of proposals for a strategy of action for a national and european family policy

Sunday, June 29th

A general report of the work groups and proposals for family policy in the '80s will be presented.

9.00 Plenary Session

General Reports of the Workshops
. Nicholas Coote (Great Britain)
. Louis Galea (Malta)
. Klaus Schleicher (FDR)

Interventions

10.30 Concluding session: Homage to the Family Building a European Community with and for families
. Maria Luisa Cassanmagnago Ceretti (Italy)

The role of the Church in the European Community
. Paul Huot-Pleuroux (CCEE)

The Family in the 80's: State, Church, Research and Marital Breakdown
. Jack Dominian (Great Britain

Closing of Symposium

. Charles G. Vella

Farewell reception

P R O G R A M M E

Jeudi 26 Juin

Ouverture officielle et introduction au thème du Symposium, suivies par la présentation de trois exemples de politique familiale

18.00 Session Plénière

Discours de bienvenue
. Charles G. Vella (Italie)

Ouverture du Symposium
. On. Franco Foschi, Ministre du Travail et de la Sécurité Sociale (Italie)

Relation d'introduction: Une politique nationale et européenne pour et avec les familles
. Joseph Gilles (CO.FA.CE.)

Rapports sur de differentes façons d'entendre la politique familiale:

1. Modèle de politique familiale chez un Etat centraliste
   . Andrzej Wielowyeski (Pologne)
2. Modèles de politique familiale non-centralisée
   . Roger Burnel (France)
3. Associations et organisations non-gouvernementales dans la politique familiale
   . Frans Van Mechelen (Belgique)

Reception pour délégues et hôtes

Vendredi 27 Juin

Une analyse du rôle et des exigences de la famille des Années '80. Les communications seront suivies par des Groupes de Travail.

9.00 Session Plénière

Le rôle et les exigences de la famille dans la société des Années '80
. Wilfried A.Dumon (Belgique)

Recentes tendences d'opinion et d'attitudes a l'égard de la famille
. Louis Roussel (France)

10.30 Intervalle

11.00 Session Plénière

Communications (15 minutes) sur de différents aspects et dimension de politique familiale

Introduction Générale
. Max Wingen (Allemagne)

1. Famille et travail
   . Claudine Hodgens (Conseil de l'Europe)
2. La sécurité sociale dans une perspective familiale
   . Albert Delpérée (Belgique)
3. Le problème du logement
   . Jan Trost (Suède)
4. Famille, santé et enfance
   . Sergio Nordio (O.M.S.)

15.00 Sessioni Plénière

5. Emigration
   . Antonio Perotti (France)
6. Legislation sur la famille
   . Margaret Killerby (Conseil de l'Europe)
7. La femme et la famille
   . Tina Anselmi (Italie)
8. Moyens educatifs pour la formation et la continuité de la famille
   . Klaus Schleicher (Allemagne)
9. Service sociaux et de consultation
   . Nicholas Coote (Grande Bretagne)
10. Media et famille
    . Gustavo Selva (Italie)

17.00 Intervalle

17.30 - 19.30 Groupes de Travail sur les thèmes proposés dans les communication (temps complexif à disposition: 7 heures).

Samedi 28 Juin

Les travaux de groupe continueront par l'étude de diffèrents aspects de la politique familiale et des rapports entre eux en presentant des propositions pratiques pour une politique familial efficace.

9.00 Session Plénière

Relations réciproques entre politique familiale et decisions politiques
. Michael Fogarty (Grande Bretagne)

Famille:Pouvoir et Changements Sociaux
. Jean Masamba Ma Mpolo (Conseil Mondial des Eglises)

10.00 Intervalle

10.15 - 13.00 Groupe de Travail

15.00 Session Plénière

Rélations réciproques dans les différentes dimensions de la politique familiale: est-ce possible une façon unifiante de les aborder?
. Pierpaolo Donati (Italie)

16.00 Intervalle

17.00 - 19.00 Groupes de Travail: Formulation de suggestion pour une politique familiale nationale et européenne.

Dimanche 29 Juin

Rapports généraux par les Groupes de Travail et propositions pour une politique familiale des Années '80.

9.00 Session Plénière

Rapporto Général des Groupes de Travail

. Nicholas Coote (Grande-Bretagne)
. Louis Galea (Malta)
. Klaus Schleicher (Allemagne)

Interventions

10.30 Session de Clôture: Hommage à la Famille Réalisation d'une Communauté Européenne avec et pour les familles.
. Maria Luisa Cassanmagnago Ceretti (Italie)

Une action de l'Eglise de la Communauté Européenne est -elle possible?
. Paul Huot-Pleuroux (CCEE)

La famille des Années '80: Etat, Eglise, Recherche:Situation et crise du mariage
. Jack Dominian (Grande-Bretagne)

Clôture du Symposium
. Charles G. Vella

RECEPTION D'ADIEU

RELATORI / RAPPORTEURS / SPEAKERS

ANSELMI Tina, On. ex Ministro italiano della Sanità (Italia)

BURNEL Roger, Dr. President de l'UNAF (Union Nationale des Organisations Familiales (France)

CASSANMAGNAGO CERETTI M.Luisa, On. Vice Presidente del Parlamento Europeo (Italia)

COOTE Nicholas, Dr. Social Welfare Commission (Gran Bretagna)

DELPEREE Albert, Prof. Membre du Senat belge (Belgique)

DOMINIAN Jack, Dr. Head of the Dept. of the Psychological Medicine at Central Middlesex Hospital. London (Gran Bretain)

DONATI Pierpaolo, Prof. Docente di Sociologia presso l'Università di Bologna (Italia)

DUMON Wilfried A., Professeur de Sociologie près l'Université Catholique de Louvain (Belgique)

FOGARTY Michael, Prof. Deputy Director Policy Studies Institute. London (Great Britain)

GALEA Louis, Hon. Dr. Member of the Maltese Parliament and General Secretary of the Nationalist Party (Malta)

GILLES Joseph, Dr. President of the CO.FA.CE.(Comité des Organisations Familiales auprès des Communautés Européennes)

HODGENS Claudine, Dr. Principal Administrator. Division of Social Affairs. Council of Europe.

HUOT-PLEUROUX Paul, Mgr. Secretary of the Council of the Conference of European Bishops (CCEE)(Switzerland)

KILLERBY Margaret, Dr. Administrative Officer. Directorate of Legal Affairs. Council of Europe.

NORDIO Sergio, Docente di Puericultura nell'Istituto per Infanzia di Trieste. Delegato OMS

PEROTTI Antonio. Prof. Directeur du Centre pour l'Emigration Européenne, Paris (France)

ROUSSEL Louis, Prof. Directeur de l'Institut National de Demographie. Paris (France)

SCHLEICHER Klaus, Professor of Comparative Education at the Hamburg University (FDR)

TROST Jan, Professor of Sociology at the Uppsala University (Sweden)

VAN MECHELEN Frans, Prof. ancien Ministre de la Culture et President du Mouvement des Familles (Belgique)

WIELOWIEYSKI Andrzej, Prof. Economist. Member of the Group of Catholic Intellectuals. Expert of Polish Episcopate in family problems (Poland)

WINGEN Max, Prof. "Ministerialrat" of the Young and Family Ministry. Bonn (FDR)

Charles G. VELLA, Director of C.I.S.F.

Opening speech

Italy has become for Europe, in this month, a place of meetings; political leaders in Venice, athletes and sportsmen on football grounds. I certainly don't want to make comparisons upon this, but I think that I have some good reasons to introduce also our Symposium into this context, owing to the substantiality and up-to-dateness of the subject we have chosen and to the basic role of the family in our society.

Now that we have all come here together we shall try to contribute, in the next few days, to the reconstruction of Europe, so often thwarted by ideological conflicts, struck by political and economical crisis, by unemployment and terrorism. We shall join our efforts order to make Europe become a family made up of a great number of sound and serene families.

In practice, we have to face today the subject of family policy in order to bring to a close the discourse we started in the CISF International Congress of 1979, the International Year of the Child. Right they, representatives of 48 Countries, from every continent, took notice of an important social reality: " The family, natural environment of the child".

The resonance of the debate - through Can. Joseph Moerman , Chairman of the Committee of Non-Governmental Organizations for the I.Y.C. and supporter of the CISF Congress - reached the General Assembly of the United Nations which, last October, in the presence of 88 Countries, voted the following resolution unanimously: "The United Nations acknowledge the importance of assisting and protecting the family, as basic unit of society and natural environment for the development and welfare of all its members and particularly of the children".

A highly significant point has been stressed in our previous Congress, i.e., the lack of an efficient policy for the child outside a comprehensive family policy.

This doesn't mean simply to transfer - as various countries tried to do - the family from its "private" to its "public" sphere. To meet the requirements of the private world of the family from the top of the political summit, without first consulting and involving all those concerned, has always proved to be a harmful operation producing the opposite effect.

It is not my task, now, to specify the nature and significance of a real family policy. Scholars and experts in the matter are going to face this task, undoubtedly not a simple one, in their reports and papers.

I hope however that, as from now, the Symposium may reach the following ends:

1. To awaken public opinion to the necessity of starting and carrying out a comprehensive family policy, which is not only neglected but even threatened in certain countries, both capitalist and socialist.
2. To urge the intervention of politicians, within the European Community, starting from the statement that Europe can't be built without considering, first of all and at all levels, the role of the family.
3. To make it better understood that the potential vitality of the family, the "family power" is an irreplaceable change and improvement factor of social life.

As this point, before starting formally the works of the Symposium, I wish to thank most sincerely and to welcome heartily all those who have accepted our invitation and are now attending our meeting in spite of their manifold personal engagements: political and religious personalities, scholars, experts and social workers.

I should like to say first that our Symposium has the honour of being supported by the General Secretary of the Council of Europe and by the Committee of Family Organizations to the European Community, that are officially represented along with the European Parliament, and in particular I should like to emphasize that we are today honoured by the presence of the Minister of Labour and Social Security, Mr. Franco Foschi; of His most Reverend Excellency, Mons.Attilio Nicora, who is present in the name of the Archibishop of Milan, Mons.Carlo Maria Martini; of various members of Parliament, of Directors of Italian and foreign Organizations and Centres for Studies.

We are also happy to greet the Vicar-General of the Società San Paolo, Father Giacomo Giraudo, as the representative of the new Superior-General, Father Renato Perino, who has conveyed his full support to us. I wish to remind that C.I.S.F. is the expression of Società San Paolo itself and of Gruppo Pe

riodici Paolini the Director of which, Father Leonardo Zega, is going to address you his speech after these words of mine.

Finally, I wish to welcome everybody, participants and guests, ladies and gentlemens,but also to invite everybody to start an open and committed dialogue on the subject which concerns us so closely and which we must therefore feel involved in.

Let me also say, to conclude, that such a dialogue can also make reference to the anniversary of Benedict of Nursia's birth, the Saint who has been proclaimed "Pater Europae", since he laid the foundations of a Christian Europe a long time ago, thus carrying out a successful synthesis of different civilizations,though respecting their culture and tradition. No doubt the message of the grand and brilliant action of Benedict of Nursia is, for Europe of the Nine and of the Twelve, more than ever topical . May it inspire the common efforts for the welfare of millions of European families, particularly of those troubled by had health, housing and work problems and struggling for their human and social rights.

Let us not forget, however, that family policy should mean a policy for the benefit of man as considered in the family unit and that, according to the words of Pope John Paul II, it is necessary to provide not only welfare but also the quality of life.

We trust that this Symposium will be considered an appeal to the European Nations - starting from the one that is giving us hospitality - to try to direct their chances towards the family if they want to overcome obstacles and difficulties and to light up the darkness of times. Then, for Europe too and for all of us, the words engraved upon the door of Saint Benedict's monastery at Subiaco will turn out to be true: "Stars shine brighter when the night is darker".

Charles G. VELLA

Discours d'ouverture

L'Italie est devenue pour l'Europe, dans ce mois, le lieu des rencontres; les politiciens à Venise, les athlètes du football et leur public, sur le terrain de jeu. Je ne veux pas,sans doute, faire des comparaisons avec ceux-là, mais je pense qu'il y a assez de bonnes raisons pour introduire également notre Symposium dans ce contexte, vu l'importance et l'actualité du thème que nous avons choisi et le rôle fondemental de la famille dans notre société.

Nous nous sommes réunis ici ensemble et pouvons maintenant chercher à contribuer, pendant ces jours, à la reconstructions de l'Europe, si souvent empêchée par les conflits idéologiques, atteinte par les crises politiques et économiques, par le désemploi et le terrorisme. Nous devons réunir nos efforts pour que l'Europe devienne une famille constituée par un grand nombre de familles sereines et harmonieuses.

En effet, nous avons à affronter aujourd'hui l'argument de la politique familiale en vue de donner une conclusion au discours que nous avions commencé à l'occasion du Congrès International du CISF en 1979, l'Année Internationale de l'Enfant. C'est là que des représentants de 48 Pays de tous les continents, ont pris connaissance d'une importante réalité sociale: "La famille, milieu naturel de l'enfant".

Le retentissement du congrès - grâce au Chan. Joseph Moerman, Président du Comité des Organisations Non-Gouvernementales

pour l'A.I.E. et patron du Congrès CISF - rejoignit l'Assemblée Générale des Nations Unies qui au mois d'octobre dernier, à la présence de 88 Pays, approuva à l'unanimité la résolution suivante: "Les Nations Unies reconnaissent l'importance d'assister et protéger la famille, comme unité fondementale de la société et milieu naturel pour le développement et le bien-être de tous ses membres, et particulièrement des enfants".

Un point très important avait été traité par notre Congrès précédent, c'est-à-dire le manque d'une politique efficace pour l'enfant, faute d'une politique familiale compréhensive.

Cela ne signifie pas transferer tout simplement, comme ont cherché à le faire plusieurs pays, la famille de sa sphère "privée" à celle "publique". Chercher à satisfaire les demandes du monde privé de la famille en partant du sommet de la haute politique, sans avant consulter ni faire participer les personnes intéressées, à toujours été une opération nuisible produisant un effet contraire.

Ce n'est pas ma tâche, maintenant, que de spécifier la nature et le sens d'une politique familiale réelle. Ce sera aux experts de la question d'affronter cette tâche, qui sans doute n'est pas simple, dans leurs rapports et communications.

Je souhaite en tout cas que ce Symposium puisse réjoindre les objectifs suivants:

1. Reveiller l'opinion publique sur la nécessité d'entreprendre et de poursuivre une politique familiale compréhensive, qui non seulement a été jusqu'à présent négligée,mais parfois menacée, dans certains Pays, soit capitalistes que socialistes.
2. Solliciter l'intervention des politiciens, à l'intérieur de la Communauté Européenne, en partant de l'affirmation que l'on ne peut bâtir l'Europe sans considérer avant tout et à tous les niveaux, le rôle de la famille.
3. Faire mieux comprendre que la vitalité de la famille, le "pouvoir de la famille" est un élément irremplaçable et un facteur d'amélioration de la vie sociale.

A ce point, avant de commencer formellement les travaux de ce Symposium, je désire remercier bien sincèrement et donner ma bienvenue la plus chaude à tous ceux qui ont accepté notre invitation et sont en train de participer maintenant à notre congrès malgré leurs nombreux engagements personnels : personnalités politique et réligieuses, experts et personnes engagées dans le domaine du travail social.

Je désire avant tout dire que notre Symposium a l'honneur du patronage du Secrétaire Général du Conseil de l'Europe et du Comité des Organisations Familiales de la Communauté Euro

péenne, officiellement representés, ainsi que le Parlement Européen, et je désire particulièrement faire remarquer que nous avons aujourd'hui l'honneur de la présence du Ministre du Travail et de la Sécurité Sociale , M.Franco Foschi; de Son Excellence Mons. Attilio Nicora, présent au nom de l'Archévêque de Milan , Mons. Carlo Maria Martini; de plusieurs parlamentaires, directeurs d'Organisations italiennes et étrangères et de Centre d'études.

Nous sommes également heureux de remercier le Vicaire Général de la Società San Paolo, Père Giacomo Giraudo, en représentance du niveau Supérieur Général, Père Renato Perino, qui nous a assûré tout son appui.Je désire rappeler que le CISF est l'expression de la Società San Paolo et du Gruppo Periodici Paolini, dont le Directeur, Père Leonardo Zega, va vous adresser son discours après ces deux mots.

Enfin, je désire donner la bienvenue à tout le monde, participants et hôtes, dames et messieurs, mais aussi inviter tout le monde à entraprendre un dialogue ouvert et engagé sur l'argument qui nous concerne de tout près, et dans lequel nous devons donc nous sentir impliqués.

Laissez-moi dire, pour conclure, qu'un dialogue de cette sorte peut aussi faire référence à l'anniversaire de la naissance de St. Benoît de Norcia, le Saint qui a été proclamé "Pater Europae", ayant posé il y a longtemps les bases de la fondation d'une Europe Chrétienne, en effectuant une synthèse efficace de différentes civilisations, tout en respectant leur culture et leur traditions. Il n'y a aucune doute que le message de l'action grande et brillante de St. Benoît est, pour l'Europe des 9 et des 12 plus que jamais actuelle. Qu'elle puisse inspirer l'effort commun pour le bien-être de millions de familles européennes,particulièrement de celles ayant des problèmes à cause de la santé, logement et du travail, et luttant pour leurs droits humains et sociaux.

Nous ne voulons pas oblier, cependant, qu'une politique familiale, cela signifie une politique en faveur de l'homme vu à l'intérieur de la cellule familiale, et que, selon l'expression du Pape Jean Paul II, il est nécessaire de pourvoir non seulement au bien-être, mais également à la qualité de la vie.

Nous sommes convaincus que ce Symposium pourra être considéré comme un appel aux Nations de l'Europe (à partir de celle qui nous hôte) afin qu'elles cherchent à identifier leurs chances dans la famille, si elles veulent dépasser les obstacles et les difficultés et éclaircir l'obscurité des temps. Alors, soit pour l'"Europe, soit pour nous-mêmes, les mots gravés sur la porte du monastère de St. Benoît à Subiaco pourront se réaliser: "Les étoiles , sont plus brillantes alors que la nuit est plus sombre".

Joseph GILLES

Politique familiale et courants idéologiques

Quatre courants idéologiques contemporains parfois opposés ont contesté ou minimisé les raisons d'être d'une politique familiale.

1) le courant de droite a voulu récupérer la famille ('Dieu, Famille, Patrie") mais s'est limité à un discours moralisateur d'exaltation des valeurs traditionnelles de la famille. De programme de politique point. Tout au plus quelques mesures d'assistance.
   Selon cette idéologie conservatrice, il y a en quelque sorte contradiction entre la politique (affaire publique) et la famille (affaire privée). Si malgré tout, il y a une politique familiale, elle doit être maniée avec beaucoup de prudence pour ne pas porter atteinte au patrimoine et à l'autonomie des familles.

   - Affirmation théorique, il faut bien le dire: la pratique politique de presque tous les Etats démontre qu'il y a compatibilité entre la politique et la famille, sous la réserve du respect de l'autonomie des familles et qu'en outre cette politique est bienfaisante pour les individus et la société.

2) le courant de gauche s'affirme par opposition au courant de droite. Il marque sa méfiance à l'égard de la famille:

a) parce que celle-ci écrase les individus, notamment la femme (cfr. Engels). Dès lors, il met l'accent sur les individus qui composent la famille (la femme, l'enfant, le couple, "les vieux" et tend à gommer la famille.D'un excès qu'il condamne, non sans raison, il tombe ainsi dans un autre excès tout aussi condamnable;

b) en outre, le courant de gauche voit dans la famille une force par nature conservatrice, qui freine l'indispensable changement de société.Il affirme dès lors la prééminence de la fraternité universelle par delà et, s'il le faut, contre la famille.

- Cette affirmation paraît avoir du poids car elle s'appuie sur une opinion courante: la famille qui conserve et transmet la tradition. Mais le mode culturel qui faisait de la famille une cellule conservatrice est actuellement bousculé: il suffit d'observer les jeunes foyers pour constater que l'institution familiale est le lieu priviligié du changement dans une société en changement.

3) le courant féministe incarne précisément une de ces pulsions qui secouent "la famille". Dans sa forme la plus virulente,la plus bruyante aussi, quoique minoritarie, le féminisme rejette la famille considérée comme un obstacle majeur à l'émancipation de la femme. Mais dans sa forme majoritaire, traduisant une novation profonde, il remet en cause la conception traditionnelle de la vie familiale, les rôles respectifs du père et de la mère, l'éducation des garçons et des filles, le refus de voir dans la mère la seule fonction maternelle si éminente soit-elle, etc...

- L'apport du féminisme est positif et enrichissant pour la famille. Toutefois il faut bien constater qu'à court terme, la vigueur de l'affirmation et de la contestation du mouvement féministe a pour effet de rejeter la famille à l'arrière-plan et par voie de conséquence de marginaliser la politique familiale.

4) le courant démographique : les régimes forts de gauche et de droite animés par une volonté de puissance, ont mené une politique nataliste. Ils étaient en outre favorables à "l'ordre" familial qui favorisait l'ordre général.

Par réaction, les leaders politiques et sociaux qui ont pris la relève dans ces pays se montrent réservés à l'égard de toute politique démographique et de toute politique familiale (cette dernière pâtissant de son cousinage avec la première). Ils y voient une fâcheuse réminiscence du régime qu'ils ont supprimé et ils amalgament à tort une politique nataliste impérialiste, unepolitique démographique équilibrée et une politique familiale.

- Mais ce sont là trois politiques différenes. La première

est condamnable et doit être rejetée. Les deux autres sont nécessaires mais ne s'identifient pas.

Ces courants d'inspiration différentes, puissants, aboutissent donc à une conclusion théorique semblable: le rejet ou l'atténuation de la politique familiale. Cependant la vérité qu'imposent les faits a conduit ces divers courant à relativiser leur opposition originelle et même à admettre et à pratiquer (lorsqu'ils détiennent le pouvoir) une certaine politique familiale. Il n'empêches le mouvement de fond qui les portes contricarrer le déploiement de la politique familiale et donne des arguments fallacieux mais séduisants à ceux qui, dans le monde politique, économique et social, entendent faire primer d'autres valeurs, d'autres intérêts.

Raisons d'être d'une politique familiale

Le fondement de cette politique est double, me semble-t-il.

1) La famille est une zone de solidarité irremplaçable. Solidarité dans le temps: la procréation assure la solidarité des générations.
Solidarité dans l'espace: amour des époux, affection parents enfants, tendresse dans le cercle élargi de la grande famille, apprentissage social et présence de la famille dans le monde environnant.

On n'a pas encore trouvé de substitut affectif qui remplacerait avec une égale densité et dans la durée, la solidarité vivante et spontanée qui anime la communauté familiale.

2) Et voici la deuxième raison plus riconstancielle:
Aussi longtemps que le famille a vécu comme une entité qui se suffisait à celle-même matériellement, socialement, culturellement, l'intervention de la société ne se justifiait que sous la forme séculaire et marginale de l'assistance à l'égard des pauvres, des malades, etc...

Mais tout a changé à partir du moment - marqué par l'industrialisation et l'urbanisation - où la famille est devenue dépendante de la société pour ses ressources, pour son logement, pour l'éducation et l'enseignement de ses enfants et qu'une osmose s'est opérée entre la famille et la société et, réciproquement, entre la société et la famille.

Cette dépendance et cette osmose se sont encore accentuées avec le progrès économique et le progrès social qui ont intégré la famille dans des reseaux sociaux multiple: sécurité sociale, services sociaux, logement social, protection des consommateurs, relations famille-école, etc...

Ainsi, la mission éternelle de la famille actualisée par l'environnement nouveau qui caractérise notre époque et qui se traduit par un phénomène de dépendance et l'osmose, fon

de l'opportunité et la nécessité de cette dimension nouvelle de la politique: la politique familiale.

Nature de la politique familiale

Qu'est donc la politique familiale dont l'ancienneté remonte à quelque 50 ans, voire à trois quarts de siècle?

1) La politique familiale est...une politique.

Il y a dans l'expression le substantif "politique" et l'adjectif "familiale".
La politique marque l'intervention des pouvoirs publics dans le zone - jusqu'il y a peu - privative de la famille. Cette intervention est rendue nécessaire (nous l'avons expliqué); mais elle a ses limites: elle est là pour aider et non pour supplanter ou régir; elle doit s'effectuer dans le respect de l'autonomie de décision des familles, sauf dans le cas où le sort des personnes est mis en danger. C'est une réserve qui appelle la vigilance; cependant elle ne met pas en cause le fondement de la politique familiale.

2) Une politique dont l'objet est la famille.

La famille, éternelle sans doute, n'est pas statique. Nous vivons même à une époque où des changements profonds, radicaux, travaillent la société, c-à-d. L'environnement de la famille et la famille elle-même dans son for interne: glissement de l'autorité maritale et parentale vers le partenariat travail professionnel de la mère en croissance rapide: familiasation du mari: remise en cause du mariage; diminution des grandes familles, remplacement de la solidarité familiale par la sécurité sociale;indépendance des jeunes foyers: régulation des naissances; révision des conceptions éthiques (moyens anticonceptionnels, filiation illégitime, adoption, etc.) évolution de la famille gardienne du patrimoine (qu'elle est de moins en moins) vers une famille-milieu électif d'affection; dégradation croissante du niveau de vie (revenus) et du cadre de vie (logement, etc...) pour les famille nombreuses..

Cette énumération est exemplative et non limitative. Elle est significative de l'évolution profonde de ce qui est l'objet de la politique familiale.

C'est donc de cette famille actuelle, vraie, qu'il est question quand on parle de politique familiale et non d'une famille qui appartient au passé ou d'une famille methique.

Cependant il est un certain nombre de caractères fondamentaux dont toute politique familiale doit prendre conscience, respecter et valoriser sous peine de trahir son objet.

3) La politique familiale prise dans sa globalité

Dans la première phase de son expansion, l'action familiale de Europe occidentale a mis l'accent quasi exclusivement sur les conditions de vie des familles, plus concrètement sur leurs pro

blèmes économiques et sociaux, ressources, logement, charge des études, etc..
Implicitement le mouvement familial raisonnait comme si les conditions externes de la vie familiale étaient seules en cause et que, celles-ci satisfaites, les familles seraient heureuses et accompliraient, sans problèmes, leurs missions. Par contre, aux Etats-Unis et plus généralement dans les pays anglo-saxons on a attaché peu ou prou d'importance aux conditions matérielles des familles, mais on s'est préoccupé, à grand renfort d'enquêtes sociologiques et psychologiques, de rechercher le bonheur des foyers dans l'amélioration des relations interpersonnelles du couple et des parents - enfants.

L'exclusivisme du point de vue, aussi bien en Europe qu'en Amérique, est une erreur, devenue aujourd'hui évidente à la lumière des travaux des sciences humaines.

L'action familiale, la politique familiale, doivent prendre la famille dans sa globalité, car sa réussite est tributaire des conditions externes et aussi des relations singulières qui se nouent entre ses membres.

4) La famille au service de la personne

L'homme est une valeur en soi. La famille n'est pas une valeur en soi. Elle tire se signification profonde du service qu'elle rend aux hommes. Les enfants ne sont pas pour les parents; ils ne sont par leur propriété; mais les parents sont pour les enfants, au service des enfants.

L'autorité parentale puise dans ce service sa justification, son sens, ses limites.

Ce service est d'ailleurs en lui-même et indépendamment de la manière dont il est réalisé, incomparable. On s'en rend d'autant mieux compte à notre époque, que les relations entre hommes, en raison de notre type de civilisation, sont souvent impersonnelles. Au delà du rationnel, du scientifique, du fonctionnel, l'homme a besoin d'un ancrage affectif qu'il trouve presque toujours dans la famille, fût-elle pauvre et malhabile.

5) La famille qui est "communauté"

Il y a plus dans la famille que dans la somme des individus qui la composent.
L'arithmétique et la statistique ne rendent pas compte des relations, en particulier des relations affectives, qui se tissent entre les membres de la famille et des exigences sociales, économiques et culturelles qui découlent de cette réalité communautaire.

Une politique de l'homme (souvent en fait limitée à l'homme -travailleur), une politique de la femme, une politique de l'enfant et des jeunes, une politique du troisième âge, ne

sont pas, en s'additionnant, et à elles seules, une politique familiale, parce qu'elles ignorent le fait distinct et essentiel de la communauté de vie qui relie l'homme, la femme, les enfants, les vieux parents.

6) La politique familiale est sui generis

L'expression "politique familiale" est un raccourci du langage justifié par des raisons pratique: mais elle est ambiguë. Car il n'y a pas UNE politique familiale ayant un objet homogène comme la politique des finances ou de la justice ou des communications ou des travaux publics.
La politique familiale porte sur des objets multiples et hétérogènes, mais elle révèle et appréhnde dans ces objets une dimension particulière qui est la dimension familiale . Hétérogène par ses objets, elle est unique par sa dimension originale.

Toute politique étant (ou devant être) à finalité humaine , la famille qui n'est pas tout le champ humain, mais en est néanmoins une portion importante, est impliquée dans presque tous les choix politiques. Ainsi se justifie la politique familiale qui est l'aspect familial des politiques.

- Il y a une dimension familiale à la politique des revenus, dont l'élément principal est constitué par des prestations familiales.
- Il y a une dimension familiale à la fiscalité, traduite par le quotient familial ou les abattements familiaux ou les réductions familiales.
- Il y a une dimension familiale à la politique de l'urbanisme qui s'exprime par la réalisation d'un environnement favorable à la vie de famille.
- Il y a une dimension familiale à la politique du logement qui trouve son expression dans une conception familiale de l'architecture, le financement modulé en fonction des charges d'enfants, l'accompagnement de services sociaux, etc.
- Il y a une dimension familiale à la politique économique, pation aux choix économiques,leur représentation et leur participation aux Conseils de consultation et de concertation.

On peut continuer l'énumération à propos des choix à faire en matière de transports en commun, d'autoroutes, d'énergie, de santé, etc..

D'évidence, la famille se trouve à l'intersection des politiques. Et ces politiques, sous peine de rater leur finalité humaine, doivent intégrer la dimensione familiale.
Ces dimension familiales multiples, constituent la politique familiale.

Le champ d'action de la politique familiale

La politique familiale s'éntend pratiquement à tous les domaines qui entrent dans la sphère de la politique.

De nos jours ces domaines sont très vastes.

On peut dire de façon paradoxale que la politique familiale

n'a presque rien en propre et qu'elle a presque tout en partage.

Si animé par un esprit cartésien, on veut cependant ramener l'ensemble de cette politique à quelques grandes courdonnées, on peut rassembler le tout en trois grand objectifs:

1) les conditions de vie des familles:

éviter des mesures néfastes (financières, économiques, sociales) qui pèseraient sur le sort des familles et promouvoir des mesures matérielles positives qui suppriment les inégalités dont pâtissent les foyers chargés d'enfants . D'où par example la politique de transferts des revenus (prestations familiales, adaptations des impôts....) et la politique de services sociaux (centres de la petite enfance, aides familiales, etc...).

2) Le cadre de vie:

Ceci vise la dimension familiale de la politique d'aménagement du territoire, de l'urbanisme et de l'habitation , des communications, de l'écologie; au delà des aspects techniques et financiers, l'environnement familial doit être une donnée essentielle des réalisations dans ce domaine.

3) La qualité de la vie:

Il s'agit de l'ensemble des aides sociales, psychologiques et pédagogiques destinées à développer les solidarités familiales: épanouissement du couple, relations parents - enfants, nouveaux modes de relations dans la grande famille, ouverture de la famille et participation de celle-ci à la vie sociale (relations avec l'école, les centres culturel, etc..).

Ces aides doivent en outre compenser les faiblesses momentanées et les échecs de la famille dans le respect constant de la famille et des personnes.

La participation des familles

1) La participation des familles est une condition essentielle de la mise en oeuvre d'une politique familiale perçue dans son authenticité "Elle seule permet aux familles de rester responsables et d'assumer leur propre destin" (1).

Sans cette participation, toute politique familiale fût-elle positive et ample, tombe dans un paternalisme peut-être doré mais étouffant et avilissant: il diminue insidieusement la responsabilité des familles et les dégrade moralement et mentalement.

D'autre part, la partecipation des familles apporte aux gouvernants la garantie que leur politique répond effectivement aux besoins et aux aspirations des familles. Et ceci est

(1) B.Lory "Politique et solidarité familiales" Extrait du Bollettin CAF n.6-7-8,1977.Il s'agit d'un remarquable rapport présenté par feu le Secrétaire général de l'UIOF aux Journérs d'études d'Helsinki.

objectivement et psychologiquement nécessaire à l'efficacité de la politique déployée.

Si l'on voulait ramasser en une formule lapidaire l'exigence fondamentale incluse dans une conception authentiquement humaine de la politique familiale, on devrait dire: "Pour les familles, oui, bien sûr, mais avec et par les familles".

2) Ce dialogue "pouvoirs publics - familles" suppose l'intervention obligée d'un intermédiaire.

On ne s'imagine pas que l'Etat dialogue avec chacune des centaines de milliers de familles voire de millions de celles-ci. Le referendum et les sondage quel qu'en soit l'intérêt ne constituent pas un dialogue. Il faut donc autre chose. La solidarité des familles a débouché, nous l'avons dit, sur le plan social. Des mouvements familiaux ont vu le jour en France, en Belgique, en République Fédérale d'Allemagne, au Grand Duché de Luxembourg, au Portugal, a des dates différentes; les plus anciens comptent plus d'un demi siècle d'existence. Plus récemment, des associations de parents d'élèves se sont constituées en Grande Bretagne, aux Pays-Bas, en Belgique, en France et ailleurs. Des groupes de foyers à vocation spirituelle fleurissent en Europe, aux Etats-Unis, en Asie. Des groupements féminins, parfois important, se sont donnée des objectifs visant l'épanouissement de la femme mais en même temps des objectifs sociaux et familiaux. De tels groupements se rencontrent dans de nombreux pays. Ailleurs des groupements professionnels ont ajouté à leur action une dimension familiale et tendent à donner à celle-ci une consistance autonome.

C'est ainsi que la COFACE groupe à l'heure actuelle quelque 50 organisations, ci-dessus décrites (2).
Il apparaît donc que la solidarité des familles s'est traduite sous diverses formes dans le contexte social. Il appartenait aux familles, maîtresses de leur destin, de prouver dans les faits qu'elles veulent 'participer', qu'elles entendent affirmer leur vouloir-vivre au travers d'une action familiale collective spécifiare et qu'elles se fixent pour objectif de transformer la société dans un sens familial.

Cette évolution historique est capitable même si elle reste encore à l'échelle européenne trop modeste.
Il est vrai que l'action familiale collective est relativement récent parfois très récente dans des pays comme l'Espagne ou le Portugal. Dernière venue dans le cadre d'une démocratie sociale et économique, elle risque d'apparaître comme une intruse encombrante qui brouille les cartes dans le portage des influence et les débats socio-economiques. Les "grands" patrons et syndicats, peuvent voir dans l'arrivée de ce nouveau venu, un trouble fête.

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(2) COFACE= Confedération des Organisations Familiales de la Communauté Européenne 125 rue du Irône, 1050 Bruxelles.

Ce n'est pas le cas partout. Les organisations familiales les plus ancienne ont acquis un poids psysique et moral, une fiabilité et une crédibilité qui en font des partenaires, moins importants que les organisations professionnelles et syndicales, mais néanmoins considérés et respectés.

Dans ce contexte, différent de pays à pays, les pouvoirs publics nous paraissent devoir adopter l'attitude suivante, inspirée d'une saine conception de la démocratie:

a) ne pas prendre l'initiative de créer eux-mêmes une organisation familiale: les familles ne sont pas à acheter; mais ce qui est tout différent, accueillir favorablement, soutenir moralement et au besoin matérielle - ment, toute initiative de groupement des familles.
b) répondre à la demande de dialogue de ce groupement des familles et lui faciliter sa mise en place dans le concert des forces sociale et économiques.

3) La participation des familles est appelée à se concrètiser à deux niveaux:

a) au niveau du PROJET politique, soit que l'association des familles élabore et propose elle-même un projet , soit qu'elle soit consult par le Parlement ou le Gouvernement sur un projet élaboré par l'un d'eux.
La consultation peut se faire directement entre les deux parties. Elle peut aussi s'effectuer su sein d'une institution ad hoc: comité économique et sociale, conseil national de la famille, etc.... Le consultation peut déboucher sur une concertation lorsque d'autre intérêt sont également en jeu, ce qui est fréquent.
b) <u>au niveau de l'EXECUTION d'une décision législative ou réglementaire</u>:
La participation appelle le concours de représentants des familles dans les institutions de gestion des prestations en espèces et des services destinés au familles.

<u>Un Ministère de la famille?</u>

Il me paraît indispensable d'évoquer la question de l'organe administratif chargé de mettre en oeuvre la politique familiale. Mon propos n'est pas de me livrer à une analyse approfondie mais, me basant sur une expérience et une reflexion de plusieurs décennies, de me limiter à la clarification de la consistance de ce que peut être unMinistère de la famille.

Un Ministère est un département administratif. Il implique qu'il ait une matière administrative à gérer. Or, la politique familiale, je l'ai dit, est la dimension familiale de plusieurs politiques assumées par des départements ministériels différents. Mis à part quelques matières spécifiquement familiales, un ministèrede la famille est don sans objet administratif. En d'autre mots, on ne voit pas un Ministère de la famille gérer l'aspect familial de la fiscalité, ou l'aspect familial de la sécurité sociale, ou l'aspect familial de la

concurrence, etc. ..Ce serait absurde.

D'autre part, les ministères (ministres et fonctionnaires) absorbés par les problèmes complexes, techniques et financiers de leurs départements respectifs, n'ont guère tendance, c'est humain, à ajouter une préoccupation supplémentaire (la dimension familiale) à leur souci quotidien. Objectivement, disons qu'ils "oublient" les aspects familiaux de leur politique.

Faut-il dès lors conclure au rejet inéluctable de la politique familiale en raison de sa marginalité administrative?

Non pas. Une troisième voie nous paraît s'indiquer: elle consist à constituer un département de la famille, de préférence rattaché à l'administration du Premier Ministre, dont le rôle est d'être "la conscience familiale du gouvernement" Il va de soi que cette conscience ne peut pas rester à l'état de voeux platoniques du genre d'une promesse électorale. Cette conscience doit s'incarner dans une structure administrative efficace qui comporte trois niveaux:

a) une administration gérant des services proprement familiaux. Par example, les aides familiales, les centre de la petite enfance, le baby-sitting, la protection des familles-problèmes etc...
b) Une cellule composée de fonctionnaires compétent dans les disciplines des autres ministères et chargé de suivre chacun pour leur part, les travaux des autres ministères et les travaux du Parlament relatife à ces ministères (projet et propositions de loi, ainsi que l'exécution des lois) en vue de alerter le ministre et de proposer des amendements.
Ces fonctionnaires pourraient être, mutatis mutandis, les équivalents des fonctionnnaire chargés de suivre les budgets - et leur exécution - de chacun des ministères, pour compte du Ministère du budget.
c) Un comité interministériel des affaires familiales, composé de Ministres et chargé d'arbitrer les différends eventuels entre les divers département et le département de la famille.

Remarque : L'existence du Ministère de la famille aurait pour conséquence qu'au Parlement, une commission spéciale de la famille, serait aussi constitée.

La politique familiale de la Communauté Européenne

Il reste à nous hausser à un niveau supranational.
Nous n'aborderons par le niveau proprement international.Nous nous limiterons à la Communauté Européenne qui, de par le Traité de Rome, dispose d'un pouvoir direct législatif (Règlements et directives), dépassant le cadre des simples recommandations; elle a donc le pouvoir de prendre des mesures qui ont force de loi sans devoir être ratifiées par les Parlements nationaux.

Le Traité de Rome est fondamentalement un traité économique.

Il est cependant assorti de quelques dispositions sociales. En outre se basant sur l'article 235 du Traité, les Chefs de Gouvernement ont en maints domaines, notamment le domaine social, lors de la Session de 1972 à Paris, élargi le champ de la compétence européenne.

Cependant il faut constater que le Traité de Rome ignore la famille et, à ce jour, les Chefs d'Etat, n'ont pas eu le souci de l'appréhender dans la politique européenne. Mais est-il possible d'aborder certains problèmes des travailleurs (l'homme n'étant connu que comme "travailleur" dans une vue limitée à l'économique) en ignorant qu'ils ont une famille? Le migrant peut-il être vu comme s'il n'avait pas femme et enfants? La pauvreté ne serait-elle que le fait d'individus? Le logement est-il concevable sans sa référence à la famille? On peut en dire autant des handicapés et d'une façon générale de la défense des consommateurs (la famille n'est-elle pas unité de consommation?) de l'enseignement etc.

On aperçoit donc que le Traité de Rome, fondamentalement économique accessoirement social et dans la lettre, nullement familial, a dû s'etendre par la volonté des Chefs d'Etat au-delà de "l'Europe des marchands" à une zone élargie du social (Songez à la Fondation pour l'amélioration des conditions de vie et de travail) et par la force des choses au domaine familial.

On ne peut ignore qu'en 1964, la Communauté européenne a organisé un grand colloque sur la sécurité sociale, en ce compris les prestations familiales. L'initiative était prématurée et fut un échec. L'évènement est cependant significatif.

En 1972, le Programme préliminaire de politique sociale prônait pour la première fois une politique sociale limité trop restrictivement au travailleur (ce que la COFACE a dénoncé) mais qui constituait néanmoins un pas dans la bonne direction puisqu'il mettait fin à l'hégémonie de l'économique.

Faut-il rappeler qu'en 1971 la Communauté fit procéder par des experts à un inventaire et à un synthèse critique des politiques familiales des Etas-membre. Ce travail fut stoppé par l'entrée de la Grande Bretagne, du Danemark et de l'Irlande dans la Communauté. Il marquait cependant une ouverture.

Enfin, chaque année, le Rapport Social consacre quelques pages à l'état comparé de la politique familiale dans les Etats membres et la COFACE collabore activement à l'élaboration de ce rapport.

Disons, en résumé, qu'en l'état actuel , la Communauté se déclare incompétente dans le domaine familial mais prend accessoirement des mesures ponctuelles dans le domaine familial.

Faut-il s'en contenter?

La COFACE ne le pense pas.

En son nom, j'ai, lors du colloque organisé en commu avec la Communauté européenne, à l'occasion de l'Année Internationale de l'Enfant, en novembre 1979, défenu la thèse suivante:

. la politique familiale étant la dimension familiale des politiques, même si le Traité de Rome fait le silence sur la famille, le politiques européenne menées au nom du Traité, intègrent inéluctablement les aspects familiaux et on fatalement des incidences sur le sort des familles.

Il est donc grave que les politiques européenne ne prennent pas délibérément et lucidement en considération les aspects familiaux qu'elle méconnaissent par un faux scrupule juridique ou par ignorance ou par facilité leur dimension familiale. En ce faisant, elles trahissent leur finalité qui est d'être au service de l'homme global; elles saucissonnent l'homme, elles le mutilent, elles le blessent.

Il nous faut aller plus loin car, nous dit-on parfois, la politique familiale n'est pas du ressort de la Communauté. Elle est de la compétence des Etats.

Nous répondons que c'est inexact, parce qu'incomplet.

Bien sûr, les Etats ont, eux aussi, à prendre en compte la dimension familiale de leurs politiques. Mais cela ne libère pas la Communauté de ses obligations à l'égard des familles.

Le train est en marche, même s'il avance à petite vitesse. A la suite du colloque de novembre dernier de la COFACE une question a été déposée au Parlement Européen par une dizaine de parlementaires sur la politique que la Communauté se propose de mener en matière familiale.

Le Comité Economique et Social, pour sa part, s'est saisi de la question démographique que la COFACE avait évoquée elle aussi au Colloque précité; et il semble que le Parlement Européen serait prochainement saisi de la même question qui, sans être familiale, lui est connexe.

A l'occasione de l'Année International des Handicapés en 1981, la Communauté se porpose de développer un ensemble de réflexions et d'actions pour les handicapés. La COFACE y est associée et veillera à ce que soient pris en compte tous les handicapés et pas seulement les accidentés du travail!

Disons, que sur le plan théorique, comme sur le plan politique, ça bouge!

La politique familiale de la Communauté européenne en est encore au stade des bâbutiements. Mais elle est en devenir. Et ce devenir, soutenu par des forces populaires, paraît bien chargé de promesses.

La Communauté Européenne ne ressemblera pas à un canard boîteux en n'étant qu'économique, ce qui serait un non-sens.

On peut penser qu'elle évoluera vers une communauté au service de tout l'homme et donc aussi au service de la famille.

Andrzej WIELOWIEYSKI

L'Influence d'un Etat centralisé sur la politique familiale

1. Toute politique sociale integrale est ipso facto une politique familiale. D'autre part la vie des familles reflète bien les processus qui se déroulent réellement dans la société .

Mon analyse de la politque familiale dans un système centralisé est effectuée sur l'exemple de la Pologne, pays moyen, à prépondérance industrielle, qui compte 35 millions d'habitants et qui depuis 35 ans se trouve dans le bloc soviétique et le système politique communiste.

2. La principale caractéristique de cette période, déterminant la politique familiale, ont été les changements sociaux impétueux et une autre caractéristique importante - les conceptions mouvantes d'une politique familiale. Quant au système de la bureaucratie centralisée, son importance a été moindre quoique il fût bien entendu un facteur important d'impétueux changements.

Le caractère impétueux de ces changements s'est manifesté :

a) par l'urbanisation : le taux de la population urbaine est passé de 28,5% en 1938 à 32 en 1945, 48% en 1960 et 57,5% en 1978;

b) par l'industrialisation : le taux de la population rurale (tirant ses moyens de subsistance de l'agricolture) est descendue d'environ 60% avant la guerre à 47% en 1950, 38% en 1960 et 23 en 1978;

c) par l'essor de l'enseignement : le taux des jeunes suivant un enseignement secondaire a été, avant la guerre, de 22 à 24%, tandis qu'en 1978 près de 80% des jeunes de 16 à 17 ans étudiaient dans les différentes écoles post-primaires.

Le niveau de vie a sensiblement augmenté. Le revenu national per habitant s'est accru d'environ 9 fois et bien qu' il soit absorbé dans une grande mesure par les coûts de la croissance et des depenses qui n'ont rien avec le niveau de vie, on peut admettre que le niveau de vie a augmenté au moins cinq à six fois.

Tous ces phénomènes ont eu une incidence très marquante sur la vie de la famille qui s'est traduite:

1. Par une activité professionnelle et sociale très accrue des femmes.

Toute de suite après la guerre, les femmes représentaient 28% de tous les travailleurs en dehors de l'agriculture . Aujourd'hui ce taux a dépassé 43%, malgré un taux croissant des femmes mariées et l'avancement de l'âge de la conclusion du mariage. Dans les villes, environ 75% des femmes mariées ayant des enfants de moins de 18 ans exercent une activité professionelle. Dans les exploitations agricoles individuelles qui donnent 90% de la population agricole globale , les femmes constituent 58% de ceux qui travaillent la terre. La moitié des étudiants inscrits aux écoles supérieures ce sont des jeunes filles qui, par ailleurs, constituent plus de 50% de ceux qui suivent les études normales, notamment dans les facultés des sciences humaines, des sciences exactes et médicales, et 70 % des élèves des lycées.

Les femmes continuant à être quelque peu discriminées en matière de salaire et de promotion professionnelle, on observe chez elles une ambition plus grande que chez les hommes en ce qui concerne l'instruction. Elles savent en effet qu'il leur faut avoir plus d'atouts que les hommes, puisqu'elles aspirent à l'indépendance.

2. Par une baisse de la fécondité.

Le taux de fécondité (nombre de naissances par 1000 femmes de 15 à 49 ans) a baissé de 109 en 1950 à 64 en 1970 (pour monter recement à 73). Au début des années cinquante, la moyenne fut de 4 enfants par foyer, en 1978 elle est de 2,1 à 2,2 (indice net de reproduction - 1,035); précisons qu'elle est de 1,7 dans les villes et de 2,8 à 3 à la campagne.

3. Par un net changement des buts et de la structure interne du couple et de la famille .

La famille a vu nettement diminuer sa fonction procréative et productive, tandis qu'elle a gagné en importance en tant qu'unité de consommation. Chez plus de la moitié des familles on observe de plus en plus nettement les caractéristiques de l'union entre partenaires égaux (dans les rapports entre les époux et entre les parents et les enfants), ce qui est dû à une position sociale bien plus forte de la femme. Ces rapports nouveaux ont fait sensiblement accroître les rôle des facteurs sentimental et sexuel en affaiblissant en même temps de façon notable le lien familial. Le nombre de divorces a considérable -

ment augmenté. En 1950, il y en a 11 mille (un divorce sur 24 mariages nouvellement conclus), en 1960 - 15 mille (un sur 16 mariages), en 1977 - 43 mille (un sur 8 mariages). Les divorces sont de 5 à 6 fois plus fréquents dans les villes qu'à la campagne. Le maintien de l'exploitation agricole individuelle et les grandes difficultés qu'il y a d'obtenir un appartement dans les villes, voilà des facteurs qui déterminent le taux de divorce relativement bas lequel, si la situation venait à changer, pourrait être même plus élevé.

3) Au cours des 35 années envisagées on a pu observer l'ébauche d'une politique familiare, explicitement formulée ou réalisée en fait. Cette politique toutefois a varié d'une période à l'autre. Trois périodes sont ici à distinguer:

. 1945 - 1955

. 1956 - 1970

. 1971

Malgré les principes idéologiques théoriquement les mêmes du parti communiste au pouvoir, malgré aussi les mécanismes politiques semblables, les principes de la politique familiale et surtout sa réalisation n'ont pas été les mêmes dans chacune de ces périodes. Par ailleurs, la famille a subi, tout au long de ces périodes, des incidences très notables des effets souvent secondaires, parfois inattendus des diverses mesures économiques et politiques.

4) 1945-1955. Période de révolution et de lutte pour le pouvoir, de reconstruction du pays dévasté par la guerre et d'une première étape de l'industrialisation accélérée.

Cette période se caractérise par une politique familiale inconhérente notamment dans son aspect démographique. On voit des éléments traditionnels se mêler à des idées novatrices.

Le parti communiste qui governe le pays depuis le début de cette période, renforce définitivement en 1948 son pouvoir et soument le pays à son idéologie. Dans celle-ci, la conception de la famille n'est pas mise au point. Sans proclamer un collectivisme avancé comme après 1917 en Russie, on n'en prévoit pas moins d'enlever à la famille toujours davantage de ses fonctions éducatives. En mêmes temps on soutient nettement la famille sur le plan juridique, économique et social tout en modifiant ses aspects. Le nouveau code de la famille introduit le divorce mais recommande de protéger la solidité du mariage et l'intérêt des enfants. Il instaure un système des epoux partenaires égaux.

Plusieurs prestations sociales aident la famille à éduquer les enfants (allocations familiales, assistance médicale, colonies de vacances organisés, assistance aux mères qui travaillent, construction de crèches et de maternelles).

Mais une importance primordiale revient à des processus generaux. Le peuplement des terres recouvrées sur l'Allemagne et des

villes dont la population avait été décimée, le plein-emploi, une expansion rapide de l'industrie et la promotion sociale d'importants groupes de la population, notamment des jeunes paysans - tout cela offrait des perspectives nouvelles aux jeunes ménages. On voyait se marier des gens toujours plus jeunes et le taux de natalité commençait à monter. Même si les enfants n'étaient pas tellement nombreux, leur nombre se maintenait au niveau, assez élevé, d'avant-guerre. Aussi les pertes causées par la guerre ont-elles vite été comblées, et en dix ans la population a augmenté de 20%.

Un élément puissant renforçant la famille et la fécondité était la politique de l'habitat en vertu de laquelle chaque travailleur en principe devait se voir attribuer par l'Etat un logement d'une superficie en fonction de l'importance de sa famille.

Une propagande nataliste était déployée, on louait et décorait les mères héroïques, le malthusianisme était condamné, la contraception et l'avortement prohibés (quoique l'avortement font répandus en fait). La morale dite socialiste, propagée notamment parmi les membres du parti communiste présentait, malgré des éléments nouveaux, nombre de traits traditionnels.

Un élément favorable à la politique familiale était aussi une politique sociale égalitaire.

L'incoherence d'une telle politique familiale se manifestait en deux points:

1° L'accroissement rapide de l'emploi des femmes dans la situation difficile d'après-guerre désorganisait la vie familiale et rendait difficiles les conditions de la santé et de l'éducation d'une nombreuse jeune génération. Les prestations sociales de l'Etat étaient, malgré les efforts déployés, largement insuffisantes et ne pouvaient compenser aux familles le travail productif des femmes mariées et de mères. Mais en même temps les femmes étaient généralement obligées de travailler car les salaires des travailleurs et des fonctionnaires étaient, dans la période stalinienne, très bas par rapport à la période d'avant-guerre. L'industrialisation se faisait au prix d''une exploitation extensive de la main-d'oeuvre, notamment cette venue de la campagne et d'une paupérisation temporaire de la population urbaine.

2° La protection ainsi que la soutien économique et la propagande familiale étaient en contradiction avec certaines mesures de la politique de l'éducation qui cherchait à soustraire la jeunesse à l'influence de l'Eglise et du foyer familial lui-même souvent attaché à l'Eglise. Mais cette préférence donnée à l'éducation collectiviste n'a pas donné de résultats marquants et le foyer familial traditionnel s'est en général bien défendu contre l'empire de cette éducation.

4) 1955-1970. Période de politique antinataliste et de "petite stabilisation".

Aussi bien les autorités publiques que, dans une grande mesure, la population ont tiré des leçons de l'expérience de la période antérieure.

Le gouvernement, surestimant les coûts de la croissance démographique a lancé une propagande malthusienne, fait voter en 1956 une loi autorisant l'avortement et, fait particulièrement important, modifié les règles d'attribution de logements qui dorénavant devenaient de plus en plus chers. Ces mesures ont fait rapidement baisser la natalité qui a atteint son niveau le plus bas en 1970, où la croissance démographique a été réduite à la reprudction simple; précisons que la population urbaine avait cessé de se reproduire dès le début des années soixante. La contraception progressait lentement à défaut de centres de consultations, tandis que la fréquence des interruptions de grossesse devenait très grave du fait que, temporairement, elle se rapprochait de celle des naissances. La propagande malthusienne invoquait adroitement la motivation économique en s'adressant aux hommes, et les motifs de nature personnelle et culturelle quand elle visait les femmes.

La population, fatiguée par les années difficiles d'après-guerre acceptait, en général, cette politique.Comme les salaires réels augmentaient lentement et les aspirations matérielles rapidement, on assistait à un accroissement, en partie forcé, de l''activité professionnelle de femmes. Elle s'accompagnait de leur promotion dans le domaine de l'instruction: ce sont notamment les femmes qui portaient la révolution culturelle à la campagne et dans les petites villes. En même temps on voyait chanceler la famille et s'aggraver les difficultès de l'éducation.

Les contradictions plus haut signalées de la politique de la famille à l'époque stalinienne se sont sensiblement atténuées. L'école a compris la nécessité de coopération éducative avec la famille, coopération devenue plus facile en raison de la stabilité politique et des changements dans les moeurs.Cela ne signifiait pas que l'Etat ait renoncé à exercer une influence idéologique sur la famille, mais en tout cas il cherchait dorénavant à ne pas provoquer des conflits éducatifs. Une exception à cet égard représentaient les tentatives, manquées,de confrontation avec l'Eglise à la fin des années soixante.

Ce qui était caractéristique c'est l'abandon progressaif d'un puritanisme communiste spécifique. A l'époque des tensions politiques en 1968 j'avais entendu un éminent militant du parti déclarer qu'un secrétaire du parti peut avoir quelques maitresses pourvu qu'il soit un bon secrétaire, déclaration qui était quasi inconcevable quinze ans plus tôt. On voyait croître lentement mais constamment l'intérêt que les moyens d'information de masse portait au sexe, tandis que la liberté sexuelle devenait un instrument de la lutte idéologique avec l'Eglise. Dans la propagande visant la jeunesse, la liberté sexuelle est devenue un critère du progrès et un moyen destiné à attirer les jeunes au marxisme.

Cependant vers la fin des années soixante, les spécialistes et ensuite les milieux gouvernementaux ont commencé à se rendre compte qu'il n' avait pratiquement pas de politique familial cohérante ou qu'il y en avait une mais fragmentaire.

A) L'alerte a d'abord été donnés par les démographes, mais les autorités publiques n'onta pas voulu pendant longtemps prendre position pour des raisons économiques et n'allaient le faire que dans la période suivante.

B) Presque en même temps, les spécialistes de la politique sociale ont commencé à dénoncer l'indice trop élevé d'emploi des femmes, fait désorganisant la vie sociale, nuisible sur le plan de l'éducation et non rentable en considération des coûts trop élevés qu'entraînent les absences au travail des jeunes mères ainsi que la construction et l'entretien des établissements pour enfants.

C) Il était devenu clair que l'absence d'une politique active d'aide à la famille traduit une tendance anti-égalitaire,que elle conduit à la paupérisation et aux chances inférieures au départ dans les famille ayant des enfants à charge, notamment les familles nombreuse. Il a été constaté que la population se reproduisait dans la majorité des cas dans des familles le moins bien nourries et logées et les plus faibles sur le plan culturel. Les prestations aux familles étaient tou - jours insuffisantes et les allocations familiales qui avaient été assez appréciables dans les années 50 (10 à 30% des revenus) ont perdu toute signification avec une inflation progressive. Cependant les familles plus modèstes et nombreuses etaient favorisées par le régime des prix, où les prix des produits alimentaires et des transports urbains ainsi que les loyers dans les vieilles maisons étaient très bas par rapport à ceux des articles industriels. Dans le budget de ces familles c'étaient là des positions les plus importantes.

D) Les retards dans la construction des logements touchaient principalement les jeunes ménages qui devaient attendre jusqu'à 10 ans l'attribution d' un appartement. Le déficit de logements rendant difficile les échanges d'appartements et contribuant à allonger les déplacements pendulaires des travailleurs était un facteur supplémentaire de désorganisation de la vie des familles.

E) Finalement, on s'est rendu compte de la basse qualité de la vie familiale, de la mauvaise préparation des jeunes au mariage,de l'incompétence pédagogique des parents, de l'absence de centre de consultation prénuptiale, etc.

F) Un problème qui commençait à se poser, en retard sur l'Occident, a été de celui des gens du troisième âge et que l'Etat n'était pas en mesure de résoundre tout seul, tandis que les familles ne pouvaient le régler dans les conditions de l'habitat existantes et du montant des pensions de retraité en vigueur.

Pour toutes ces raisons, à l'arrivée au pouvoir à la fin de 1970 du nouveau 1er Secrétaire du Parti, Edward Gierek, le problème de la politique familiale était un des problème sociaux les plus urgents.

6) Années 70. Croissance économique rapide au début, difficultés économiques croissantes ensuite, politique familiale active.

Une augmentation sensible, de 35 à 40% des salaires réels dans les années 1971-75, le relèvement des salaires les plus bas et l'accroissement des prestations de l'Etat ont amélioré la situation des familles, cependant certaines difficultés se sont encore aggravées pour devenir urgentes lorsque les salaire eurent été bloques et surtout quand en 1979 les salaires réels ont même baissé. Le maintien, par suite de la lutte ouvriere des prix très bas des produits alimentaires jouait en faveur des familles mais ce système, malheureusement, commence à s'ecrouler . La limitation des fonds sociaux des entreprises ainsi qu'une hausse impétueuse des salaires favorisant les groupes plus aisés et ayant peu d'enfants, hausse stimulant l'inflation, ont joué contre les familles nombreuses et plus modestes.

Le nouveau gouvernement a pris plusieurs mesures en faveur de la famille.

1° Un Conseil de la Famille, présidé par le primier ministre a été créé.

2° Les allocations familiales pour les familles moins aisées ont été augemntées (leur part dans le budget familial est passée de 5 à 10%).

3° Les congés de maternité ont été prolongés de 12 à 14 semaines en cas de première naissance et jusqu'à 18 semaines pour chaque naissance suivante.

4° Il a été instauré un congè de maternité non rémunéré accordé pour l'éducation de l'enfant en bas âge, la bénéficiaire ayant le droit reprendre son travail, conservant son droit à la retraite, etc. (environ 30% des mères salariées en profitent). Cependant on n'a pas réussi à obtenir des congès de maternité rémunérés plus longs ou des allocations spéciales pour la durée de la garde d'un enfant en bas âge, comme en Hongrie et en Techécoslovaquie.

5° Toutes les mères ont droit à une allocation unique à la naissance (2000 zlotys, soit environ 40% du salaire mensuel moyen).

6° Les allocations spéciales permanentes ont été accordées pour les enfants atteints d'une affection chronique ou infirmes

7° Un système de crédits pour les jeunes ménages a été mis en place (prêts jusqu'à concurrence de 10 salaires mensuels à un taux d'intérêt réduit, partiellement remboursables par l'entreprise).

° En ce qui concerne l'éducation, l'aide de l'Etat à l'enfant et à la jeunesse a été développée.

8° Environ 6% des enfants ont bénéficié des crèches (surpeuplées). Environ 50% des enfants ont fréquenté les maternelles (surpeuplées), les plaintes invoquant le manque de place étant fréquentes. La politique éducative de l'Etat vise à assurer la préscolarité à tous les enfants de façon à applanir les disproportions culturelles entre les familles.

9° Un système, toujours insuffisant, des internants et des foyers pour les enfants et la jeunesse est en fonctionnement.

10° Environ 10% des jeunes dans les lycées, 26% dans les ecoles professionneles et 40% des étudiants reçoivent des bourses, 39% des étudiants sont logés dans des maisons d'étudiants surpeuplées.

11° L'assistance médicale est gratuite mais sa qualité, notamment à la campagne, laisse à désirer.

12° Les colonies et camps de vacances d'été et d'hiver, généralement bien organisé présentent une aide appréciable au point de vue sanitaire et matériel. Ils concernent environ 3 millions 500 mille enfants et jeunes, soit 2 fois de plus qu'il y a 10 ans. Une action idéologique y est évidemment déployée.

13° Les centres d'accueil et les établissements speciaux pour les enfants dispoposent de 78 mille places (8 p.mille de toute la jeune population).

14° Un Fonds alimentaire d'Etat a été créé. Il est destiné à recouvrer les pensions alimentaires auprès des parents qui y sont tenus et qui ne les versent pas pour diverses raisons.

15° Les pensions de retraite ont été sensiblement augmentées, notamment pour les retraités de plus de 80 ans, ce qui a contribué à ameliorer la situation des familles.

Enfin, au milieu des années 70, avec un retard de quelques années, les autorités publiques ont abordé le problème de la crise démographique. Le ton de la propagande a changé. L'organe central du parti publie de nombreux articles con-sacrés à la famille. Le chef même du parti a reconnu que la situation était mauvaise, principalement à cause du manque de logements (" le manque de logement fait que l'on remet à plus tard les questions de l'enfant, or souvent cela signifie que l'on n'aura pas d'enfant"). Le gouvernement toute fois n'a pas reussi à, réduire le déficit de logements vu la prépondérance des "lobbies technocratiques" et la priorité des investissements industriels.

Il y a quelques années, on prévoyait qu'en 1985 chaque famille aurait un appartement à soi, mais aujourd'hui cette prévision est devenue irréelle. Environ 2/3 des jeunes ménages continuent à attendre pendant quelques années leur propre logement et la moitié cohabitent avec leurs parents.

Les milieux gouvernementaux avaient également discuté des projets d'application restreinte de la loi sur l'avortement, mais sans effet jusque-là, probablement à la suite de la résistance des milieux médicaux.

Un climat de prospérité et un changement positif d'attitude à l'égard de la famille et des enfants ont apporté des résultats concrets, à savoir un taux de fécondité plus élevé (il est passé de 64 à 73, soit une augmentation de 13%), ce qui signifie qu'il y aura plus de familles avec deux ou trois enfants. Mais dans la situation actuelle il est douteux que cette tendance puisse se maintenir.

En appréciant les orientations et les effets de la politique familiale recente il faut tenir compte de plusieurs autres problèmes. Je me bornerai à deux groupes de questions.

a) La faiblesse interne de la famille résultant de ce que le système juridique appelé à protéger l'intérêt de la famille et de l'enfant continue à jouer sans un soutien social suffisant (éducation, mass media etc.) et s'avére inefficace. Le système éducatif ne protège pas lui non plus la famille. D'abord et surtout il manque un système de consultations qui aiderait á résoudre les conflits. On manque également d'un système de préparation à la vie dans la famille. Il est vrai que le ministère de l'Instruction Publique a élaboré pour des écoles un programme assez rationnel de la matière qui s'appelle "Préparation à la vie dans la famille socialiste" (programme consulté avec l'Episcopat), mais sa mise en vigueur rencontre une forte résistance idéologique et un obstacle qu'est le manque des enseignents compétents.
L'Eglise essaie, au prix de grands efforts, pallier aux défauts de la politique de l'Etat en cette matière, et son activité concernant l'éducation familiale dans les paroisses est toléree, voire en partie acceptée par les autorités publiques.

b) La surcharge des fonctions de la famille qui, n'est pas en mesure de bien remplir sa fonction éducative et protectrice, dans l 'état actuel de choses, quand les deux époux travaillent, les familles vivent isolées et les appartements sont exigus. Les conflits dans ce domaine augmentent quoique les conflits avec la jeunesse soient, semple-t-il,bien moins aigus qu'en Occident.

De 55 à 60 des gens âgés habitent avec leurs enfants majeurs et plus de la moitié en sont mécontents. Le nombre des placés dans les maisons des retraités est de 10 mille seulement.

Certains specialistes dans la problématique sociale envisagent de régler ces problèmes de la façon suivante: 1 s'agisant de l'éducation - développer la collaboration de la famille avec l'école; 2 s'agissant des gens du troisième âge, développer le système d'aide de l'Etat (ce qui semble irréel avant 1990 vu un accroissement considérable du nombre des gens âgés dans la décennie qui commence).

La première conception est conforme aux principes du système politique et, prenant en compte l'importance du foyer familial dans l'éducation, elle veut l'inclure dans le système de dirigisme et de contrôle de l'Etat. Il semble que cette conception est en contradiction flagrante tant avec la tutelle de une famille "consanguine" largement entendue (bien plus efficace en matièere d'éducation et de protection), mais qui devient rare qu'avec les conceptions contemporaines et les expériences des mouvements familiaux et des communautés familiales ou amicales qui pourraient soutenir la vie de la famille de façon bien plus rationnelle et efficace que l''alliance de l'école

bureaucratique avec une petite famille, socialement isolée.

Ces expériences polonaises montrent nettement les conditions et les contraintes tant politico-économique qu'idéologiques de la politique familiale ainsi que les ressemblances avec les problèmes dans d'autres pays, tant est-européen (dont chacun a sa spécificité) que ceux de l'Occident.

Roger BURNEL

La representation des familles et la politique familiale en système politique decentralisé

N'est-il pas paradoxal de demander à un Français de parler de la représentation des familles à l'intérieur d'un système politique et d'une structure administrative décentralisés, lorsqu'on sait que la France, fortement marquée de jacobinisme, reste toujours un état centralisé, en dépit d'essais successifs et d'améliorations sensibles? C'est encore le plus souvent Paris qui décide, même si la création d'un "pouvoir régional", l'accroissement de l'initiative des préfets dans les départements, et l'élargissement des prérogatives des municipalités, indiquent une certaine volonté de changement... On ne réforme pas facilement les hommes, même si on modifie les procédures. Les habitudes sont solides. En fait, j'exposerai ce qu'est, en France, la représentation des familles, exercée par les organisations familiales, à traver une structure démocratique originale faisant essentiellement appel à l'expression des familles associées.

Le Mouvement Familial français n'est pas de création récente; il y a maintenant plus d'un siècle, qu'analysant la complexité de leurs responsabilités éducatives, quelques parents constituèrent le premier groupment de famille, et ceci dans le cadre d'une paroisse protestante.

Puis les Associations Familiales se sont régulièrement développées. Des Mouvements Familiaux se sont créés qui les ont réunies et animées, chacun autour de sa propre idée de la Famille.

Certes, il serait intéressant de dégager les principaux caractères du Mouvement Familial français d'alors, mais le temps manque. Aussi renvoyons-nous à la thèse de doctorat ès lettres de Talmy sur "l'histoire du Movement Familial en France de 1896 à 1939 " éditée par la Caisse Nationale d'Allocations Familiales à Paris.

Toutefois, on doit noter l'influence importante du catholicisme social et citer, par exemple, le rôle à fait exemplaire du Chanoine Violet, prêtre parisien parmi les familles ouvrières. Sans doute, les Mouvements Familiaux, dans leur majorité, restèrent-ils pendant cette période souvent marqués de conservatisme politique. A cela, deux raisons principales: la Famille était perçue à travers un grand attachement à la tradition, la préoccupation démographique dominait; la France était elle-même restée majoritairement conservatrice. L'analyse du comportement politique et social des Français demanderait une réflexion beaucoupe plus fine tant il serait nécessaire de mettre en évidence ses nombreuses contradictions individuelles et collectives.

L'Eglise catholique prit le risque d'être, par ses silence t ses excès, souvent assimilée à la classe possédante.Mais des prêtres et des évêques n'hésitèrent jamais à se ranger du côte des pauvres et des ouvriers. Ce fut par exemple le cas du Cardinal Liénard, à Lille. Une certaine bourgeoisie voltairienne, qui se disait de gauche, semblait surtout préoccupée de préserver ses privilèges de classe. Chez ceux-là, si "le coeur était, apparemment, à gauche, le porteeuille pesait lourd à droite" !

De jeunes foyers fondés sur des rencontres favorisées par l'engagement dans des Mouvements de jeunesse, -qu'il s'gisse de la JOC, de la JAC, de la JEC (1) ou du scoutisme - ont contribué à donner au Movement Familial français un dynamisme renouvelé et un autre visage. Les amitiés et le communions entretenues par la "Résistance", à l'époque de l'occupation, ou dans les camps de prisonniers et de déportés, permirent de réduire méconnaissances et incompréhensions sociales. Les choses et les faite prennent une dimension et unee teinte différentes lorque elles sont éclairées de la même lumière d'espérance. "Celui qui crovait au Ciel, celui qui n'y crovait pas..."

Sans doute, l'action des Mouvements Familiaux a-t-elle conduit à la création d'une large solidarité familiale qui a eu son expression à travers des services d'entraide, mais aussi par des interventions en direction des Pouvoirs Publics, pour une amélioration de la législation économique et sociale dans le sens d'une certaine prise de concience des responsabilité familiales et des droits des familles. C'est ainsi que les Mouvements Familiaux ont joué un rôle déterminant dans la création et pour le

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(1) Jeunesse Ouvrière Chrétienne, Jeunesse Agricole, Jeunesse Etudiante Chrétienne.

développement des mesures de compensation des charges familiales. On leur doit également la promulgation du "Code de la Famille", en 1939. A cette époque George Pernot fut le premier Ministre de la Famille dont se dotait un Gouvernement français. Georges Pernot présidait l'un des principaux Mouvements Familiaux.

Puis les Mouvements Familiaux vont prolonger leur action vers la mise en oeuvre d'une représentation officielle des familles près des Pouvoirs Publics. A l'initiative d' Emmanuel Gounot, avocat, militant chrétien et familial dont l'influence continue de se faire sentir après sa mort, fut instituée une première expression institutionnelle des milles.

On aurait pu penser, à la libération, que la Loi du 29 décembre 1942 allait être sans lendemain, comme tous les textes issus du gouvernement de Vichy. Au contraire, le Général de Gaulle et le Gouvernement Provisoire de la République qu' il présidait, ont tenu à garder le principe de ce texte, en lui donnant un caractère démocratique qu'il n'avait pas précédemment. Ce fut l'Ordonnance du 3 mars 1945 qui a permis la création d'une part, de l'Union Nationale des Associations Familiales (l(U.N.A.F.) et, d'autre part, des Unions Départementales d'Associations Familiales (les U.D.A.F.), qui ont des prérogative identiques, mais au niveau territorial du département (1). Des historiens trouveron dans le texte de l'Ordonnance du 3 mars 1945, une application de l'idée de "participation" tel le que l'a initiée le Général de Gaulle, et la création d' un premier droit politique donné aux familles.

On pouvait craindre que, née dans l'euphorie de la libération, l'U.N.A.F. ne tombe progressivement en désuétude. Il n'en fut rien. En 1975, le Parlement unanime, a étendu l'assise , confirmé le prérogatives et accentué les moyens de l'U.N.A.F. et des U.D.A.F.

Avant de décrire l'U.N.A.F., son rôle et son architecture, j'insisterai sur le fait qu'elle n'est, en aucune façon,un instrument du Pouvoir, mais une organisation démocratique, totalement libre, qui ne reçoit aucune consigne de l'extérieur , puisque dans l'U.N.A.F., la décision politique appartient uniquement à l'Assemblée Générale et au Conseil d'Administration, émanations de la volonté des familles associées.

En tant que Président de l'U.N.A.F., j'ai des relations avec le Président de la République , le Premier Ministre et les Ministres, mais aussi avec lesleaders de chacune des formations politiques, sans distinction d'opinion. Il y a quelques mois nous avons même signé, avec chacun d'eux, des textes communs. Puisque l'U.N.A.F. représente toutes les familles, nous ne pouvons pas refuser le dialogue ou la confrontation avec un gouvernement ou avec un homme politique, sinon nous renierions notre vocation et notre raison d'être. L'U.N.A.F. n'a pas à se faire juge des votes et des choix politiques des pères et des mèresde famille. L'orientation politique ou philosophique d'un père ou d'une mère de famille est sans incidence sur sa qualité personnelle d'époux et de parent. L'U.N.A.F. est effective

(1) La France est administrativement divisée en 100 départements.

ment ouverte à tous.

L'U.N.A.F. représente officiellement toutes les familles sans distinctions, c'est-à-dire, selon la Loi, tous les couples mariés qui ont des enfants, les jeunes Foyers quin n'ont pas encore d'enfant, et toute personne seule, sans distinction de statut, qui a la charge d'un enfant. Elle représente aussi les famille étrangères vivant en France.

L'U.N.A.F. défend les interêt familiaux matériels et moraux , c'est-à-dire qu'elle exprime près des Pouvoirs Public ce que sont les réalités et les responsabilités familiales et indique quelles solutions devraient etre apportées, en matière économique et sociale.

L'U.N.A.F. peut intervenir près des Tribunaux chaque fois que l'interêt général des familles est en question .

Il s'agit donc là d'un ensemble de droits considérables qui demandent, pour ne pas être abusivement utilisés comme des privilèges, un certain état d'esprit et une grande volonté d'ouverture, traduits dans une structure et dans un débat permanent.

A la base de l'architecture de l'U.N.A.F., il y a les familles . Celles-ci peuvent librement se réunir en association familiales selon leurs choix philosophiques et religieux, leurs milieux sociologiques, leurs conditions de vie ou à partir des problèmes et des situations prioritaires qu'elles ont à résoudre .

Les Associations Familiales peuvent se rattacher à un Mouvement Familial (1).Chaque Mouvement Familial se justifie par des différences doctrinales, par des spécialisations sociologiques , par la priorité donnée à certaines situations. Plus de 80% des Associations Familiales adhèrent à l'un ou à l'autre des Mouvements Familiaux. Les autres 20% sont des Associations restée indépendantes pour des raisons diverses.

Les Associations et les Mouvements qui existent dans le cadre géographique d'un même département constituent l'Union Départementale des Associations Familiales. Il y a 100 U.D.A.F. , autant que de départements.

Les Unions départementales et les échelons nationaux des Mouvement Familiaux constituent l'U.N.A.F. (2)

Il y a aujourd'hui 4500 Associations Familiales, auxquelles adhérent plus de 600.000 familles.

Il serait impossible de représenter officiellement toures les familles sans une observation constante des réalités familiales. Les associations constituent autant de postes d'observation et de

(1) Voir en annexe la liste des Mouvements Familiaux
(2) 28 Place St.Georges - 75442 PARIS-CEDEX 09

lieux d'expression. il s'agit en effet de rapporter la vérité des situations et de traduire l'exacte attente des familles. Elles seules peuvent exprimer ces réalités.

Il serait impossible d'analyser les intérêt familiaux et d'élaborer des solutions politique sans être à l'écoute des différentes écoles de pensée, des initiateurs des principaux choix de société, des témoins permanents des situations familiales les plus spécifiques. C'est l'un des rôles très important que jouent les Mouvement Familiaux.

Ainsi l'U.N.A.F. dégage-t-elle des synthèses et présente-t-elle aux Pouvoirs Publics les principales hypothèses majoritaires et minoritaires, qui photographient la réalité et qui expriment l'attente des familles en matière économique, sociale, éducative ou culturelle.

Si l'on voulait donner une image, on pourrait dire, à travers une analogie grossière, que l'U.N.A.F. est le "Parlement des Familles" et que les Mouvementd Familiaux en seraient les différents partis ou tendances politiques.

La politique de l'U.N.A.F. s'exprime par les moyens généralement communs à toute concertation et confrontation. Elle intervient près des Pouvoirs Publics. Elle désigne des représentants dans les différents organismes et instances où l'on débat de sujets économiques et sociaux. L'U.N.A.F. et les U.D.A.F. ont maintenant plus de 30.000 représentants permanents.

Quel est le projet politique del 'U.N.A.F. ?

Il n'est pas possible d'aller dans le détail. Ce projet politique est publié et il est à la disposition de celles et de ceux qu'il intéresserait (1). Aussi, vais-je me limiter à une esquisse succinte.

Il n'existe pas, en droit français, de définition de la Famille. Le Code Civil est muet. Il n'appartient pas davantage à l'U.N.A.F. de définir juridiquement ou philosophiquement la Famille, parce que chaque homme et chaque femme transposent dans leurs familles leurs choix et leurs adhésions personnelles. En revanche, il est normal qu'un Mouvement Familial propose un "modèle" à la lumière de sa doctrine ou de son choix de société.

Les familles sont diverses: diversités dues au nombre des enfants, au niveau culturel, à l'habitat, au montant des ressources, à l'absence d'un des parents, à la santé, à la profession...Les situations familiales et les problèmes familiaux ne peuvent pas être analysée de la même façon par toute les familles. La politique économique et sociale ne peut pas ignorer ces différences, si elle veut être équitable.

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(1) U.N.A.F. 28, Place St.Georges - 75442 PARIS CEDES 09

Mais si l'U.N.A.F. à la mission de représenter toute les familles, elle ne peut pas ignorer l'objectif de toute famille.

On a parfois voulu trouver des raisons savantes à l'origine de la famille. J'en vois essentiellement deux, qui sont des motifs de bon sens. "Ils" fondent un couple parce qu'ils pensent qu'ils seront plus heureux à deux que chacun ne le serait en restant seul. Ils ont des enfants pour acroître la dimension de leur bonheur, mais aussi pour se prolonger dans un certain refus de la mort. Même l'homme et la femme qui ne croient pas en l'éternité la recherchent passionnément, parce que il n'est pas possible de vivre sans espoir, sans rien avant ni rien après soi. L'homme est solidement ancré au sol avec la tête dans les étoiles.

Alors la Famille m'apparait comme un droit essentiel et imprescriptible de la Personne. C'est le moyen d'expression le plus complet qui lui soit offert puisqu'il lui permet de participer directement à la Création. "L'Homme Familial", maillon d'humanité.

Aussi n'est-il pas possible de prétendre appoorter aux familles les moyens économiques, sociaux et culturels nécessaires à la réalisation de leur vocation au bonheur sans créer les conditions minimales indispensables à toute famille pour qu'elle soit une Famille.

Toute famille a droit au respect, le respect de la Société, celui de l'Opinion et celui de l'Etat.

Toute famille a droit à ce que soient garantis son besoin et son envie de durer. Toute famille a droit à la solidarité de toute la Nation, et au-delà, la solidarité de l'humanité toute entière, parce que le droit au bonheur ne peut pas être le privilège d'une race, d'une religion, d'une culture, de la richesse économique, de la puissance des armes.

L'enfant qui justifie l'amour, élargi au-delà d'un bonheur résumé à deux et qui pourrait n'être qu'un égoisme, a droit à une protection prioritarie, en raison de sa fragilité et de l'espoir dont il est porteu. Il n'est pas d'enfant qui ne soit nécessaire au Monde.

Je vois deux justifications principales à cette revendication pour les familles.

Et d'abord celle du droit pour chaque homme et pour chaque femme à la liberté et à l'égalité de considération, parce que ce sont des personnes. Ensuite, celle de l'obligation faite à la Nation de reconnaître la valeur civique et humaine du rôle joué par les familles à travers leurs missions biologiques, éducatives, affectives, sociales, économiques. Il y a bien réciprocité de droits et de devoirs entre l'Etat et les Familles, comme il y a réciprocité de droits et de devoirs entre l'Etat et les citoyens. Il ne peut y avoir ni Etat ni Société sans Familles.

Aussi l'U.N.A.F. demande-t-elle que chaque famille puisse accéder à une vie de qualité, sans que le poids de ses responsabilités et des charges qui en découlent n'en fassent une "handicapée". L'espérance n'est pas un handicap. Une famille est témoin d'espérance.

Politiquement, nous traduisons ce voeu en quatre droits :

. le droit à la liberté de conduire sa vie,

. le droit à l'espace,

. le droit au temps,

. le droit à une consommation correspondant à ses besoins.

Le droit à la liberté de conduire sa vie intéresse la vie personnelle du couple et notamment la liberté de pouvoir élever le nombre d'enfants qu'il souhaite avoir et de les éduquer selon ses choix et toujours dans l'intérêt de l'enfant.

Les législations sur la contraception et sur l'avortement, par exemple, ont ouvert des droits "négatifs" qu'auraient dû a normalement préceder des droits "positifs", donnant aux parents les moyens économiques et sociaux nécessaires à l'entrétien et à l'ducation des enfants qu'ils ont déjà ou qu'ls voudraient avoir par la suite.

Il en est également ainsi du droit, pour toutes les mères, à une véritable statut social. Certaines dispositions commencent à voir le jour. Il n'est pas acceptable qu'une mère de famille ne bénéficie pas de droits économiques et sociaux directement issus de sa fonction maternelle alors qu'elle n'est souvent titulaire que de droits dérivés du statut professionnel de son mari ou de son éventuel statut professionnel.

La mère doit pouvoir choisir, soit de consacrer tout son temps à l'exercice de ses responsabilités familiales, soit d'harmoniser ses responsabilités familiales et l'exercice d'une activité professionnelle. Ceci implique d'abord certains changements d'attitude qui fassent reconnaître à leur vraie valeur économique et sociale, les fonctions maternelles et parentales . Concrètement, cette reconnaissance conduirait à orienter la compensation des charges familiales vers une prise en considération plus effective du coût familial de l'enfant constitué de deux éléments, d'une part la valeur du temps passé à l'exercice des responsabilités parentales et d'autre part les dépenses de consommation liées à son entretien et à son éducation. Mais ceci devrait également aller vers l'aménagement de la législation du travail, par exemple dans le domaine du travail à temps partiel et de la formation permanente, et vers une politique des équipements active et adaptée.

Le droit à lespaceintéresse notamment la législation de l'ha

bitat, c'est-à-dire du logement et des équipements de toute nature (transports, écoles, santé, commerce, loisirs, culture.....). L'habitat exerce une incidence positive ou négative, sur la qualité de la vie familiale, sur l'ducation et sur la santé. Il est l'un des tout premiers parmi les éléments politiques qui intéressent les familles.

Le droit au temps recouvre des domaines qui pèseront de plus en plus sur la qualité de la vie familiale. Il s'agit de l'utilisation du temps, donc de l'organisation du travail professionnel et du temps nécessaire aux fonctions familiales. Mais il s'agit aussi de l'emploi du temps libre, donc les loisirs, de la culture, de l'information. Il s'agitégalement de la maitrise des rythmes. Le problème du temps et des rythmes pour les adultes et pour les enfants est lun des plus importans que nous ayons à résoundre comme facteur d'équilibre de la vie personnelle et sociale.

Le droit à une consommation répondant aux besoins conduit a rappeler qu'une famille est une unité de consommation La consommation est une fonction essentiellement familiale, qui ne se limite pas aux biens du marché, puisqu'une famille consomme aussi des services (transports, école, santé, information...) et de l'air, de l'eau, de l'espace. La consommation est un droit économique et social. La société de consommation exagère l'envie de paraître au lieu de faire prendre coscience de la nécessité de être. La recherche du profit est l'objectif et le moteur de ceux qui l'orientent et qui disposent de moyens considérables comparés à la relative faiblesse des moyens qu'ont les organisations de consommateurs. La société de consommation crée des besoins artificiels. La fausse innovation est facteur de gaspillages préjudiciables aux consommateurs, aux entreprises, et à la Nation. L'enfant, sacré roi par la société de consommation, est utilisé comme "presscripteur" publicitaire. En fait, c'est un roi qu'on fait règner sur un "rovaume artificiel".

Les organisations familiales sont aussi des organisations de consommateurs, parce qu'il n'est pas possible de séparer les fonctions familiales, qui ont toutes entre elle, des liens étroits de dépendance, et qui concourent toutes au même but.

Je mesure l'insuffisance de ce développement qui demanderait à être précisé en de nombreux points.

Nous n'aimons pas qu'n parle de 'Politique de la Famille"parce que l'expression peut être comprise comme une mise entre parenthèses économique et sociale des familles, alors que leurs vie se déroule à l'intérieur de cadres très concrets, tels que la maison, le village, le quartier de la ville,l'école, l'hôpital, le centre commercial....On ne cesse pas d'être père et mère de famille en arrivant sur le lieu de son travail. Aussi préférons-nous qu'on affirme la nécessité d'intégrer les intérêts familiaux à la politique économique et à la politique sociale. C'est en ce sens que nous comprenons "la politique familiale globale" et que nous disons qu'une politique sociale ne peut qu'être familiale. C'est en ce sens que nous parlons des "impératifs familiaux" de toute politique qui voudrait se mettre vraiment au service de la Personne.

Il y a préoccupation politique des familles, lorsque la législation fiscale, la législation de l'habitat, de l'emploi, de la santé, de l'information, de l'enseignement, des loisirs ...tient compte du fait familial et des réalités familiales à égalité avec d'autres intérêts. Joseph Gilles a évoqué ce thème. Je ne m'y arrête pas davantage.

Dans un Gouvernement ce sont donc tous les Ministres qui doivent avoir le réflexe familial, car il est bien peu de domaines où la vie familiale ne soit pas en cause.Dans ces conditions c'est bien le Chef du Gouvernement qui doit exercer le fonction de "Ministre de la Famille" à travers sa responsabilité d'ensemble, économique et sociale.

Il peut apparaître regrettable de devoir créer certain ministères, car c'est le preuve patente que les attributions qui leur sont données n'ont guère préoccupé auparavant. Il est dramatique, pour la société française, qu'il faille un "Ministère de la Conditions Féminine". Ceci prouve seulement que nous vivons toujours dans un monde fait par des hommes et pour des hommes. Lorsqu'on confie à une femme une responsabilité politique, elle reste souvent de caractère social. Les chose seront changées le jour où une femme sera Ministre de l'Economie, de l'Industrie, de la Défense ou du Commerce et lorsu'un homme sera Ministre de la Famille. Pourquoi y aurait-il relation entre le sexe et la compétence?

Une famille n'est pas une juxtaposition de personnes qui auraient chacunes leurs besoins propres. Une famille est une unité spécifique, indissociable dans ses besoins: unité affective, unité éducative, unité économique, unité sociale. Aussi la juxtaposition des politiques de la femme, de la petite enfance, de l'adolescence, de la vieillesse.... ne constitueront jamais une politique de la famille. Pour toutes sortes de raisons, nous courons ce risque. On procède au coup par coup, au hasard des circostances, pour pallier les besoins immédiats . Les responsabilités familiales n'éclatent pas par intermittences ni par éclipses. Elles sont pemanentes, avec leurs temps forts qui exigent davantage de moyens, sans que les parents n'en soient exonérés à un moment ou à un autre. L'allongement de la durée de la vie, la transformation des conditions de vie, la mobilité des personnes, la réduction sensible du nombre des enfants par famille, créent de nouvelles situations.

J'esquisserai encore deux observations, parmi d'autres que on pourrait faire.

A la "famille horizontale" succède la "famille à étages" , enfants, parents, grands-parents, et souvent même arrières grands-parents, génératrice de besoins nouveaux et créatrice de relations d'un type nouveau. La diminution du nombre des enfants par famille, reduit l'effet bénéfique de la fraterie, qui constituait, pour chaque enfant, le meilleur apprentissage de la solidarité. Que deviendra demain la solidarité humaine qui ne serait plus initiée au sein d'une famille?

D'autres moyens, d'autres méthodes, d'autres langages sont a inventer. Ce doit être le projet et la préoccupation de toute action et de toute politique familiales.

La famille n'est pas disparue. Ceux qui annoncent sa "mort" commettent l'erreur de se référer préférentiellement à leur passé, a moins qu'ils ne se fassent les avocats d'une société sans lendemain que les hommes n'accepteront jamais. Il est normal que la famille évolue. La famille n'-t-elle pas déjà beaucoup évolué au cours de l'histoire? Les changements se sont produits autrefois, mais plus lentement qu'ils ne se produisent maintenant.Comme nous n'en avons pas été témoins, nous ne les avons pas perçus avec la même sensibilité. La politique qu'il s'agit de mettre en place alors n'est pas celle qui aurait théoriquement pu répondre aux besoins et à l'attente des familles d'il y a vingt ou trente ans. Ce doit être une politique pour les familles, parents er enfants, de l'ube du troisième millénaire. Trop souvent, ne confon don pas les principes et leur application? On croit sauver l'essentiel alors quon établit des barrières dérisoires, en courant même le risque de réduire l'indispensable fidélité a l'essentiel

Aujourd'hui je constate, dans mon pays, un renouveau d'intérêt pour la famille, dans tous les milieux et dans tous les partis politiques.La crainte d'une aggravation de la situation démographique n'y est pas étrangère. La politique démographique la plus efficace et la plus juste est une politique familiale globale. Le caractère protecteur de la famille apparait comme une nécessité plus urgente, tandis qu'une société hyperlogique accentue sa brutalité et multiplie les situations d'isolament et de déshumanisation. L'homme affronté au travail anonyme de l'usine se retrouve un homme libre dans sa famille. Il renoue avec l'espoir.

Ainsi justifions-nous notre combat.Le combat pour la liberté, pour la promotion et pour l'epanoussement des Personne.

Nous sommes venus ici d'horizons différents, parfois lointains, mais réunis et encouragés par un idéal unique.

Et si ce pouvait être pour nous l'occasion de nous mieux connaître, pour ous mieux estimer; nous estimer davantage pour être plus solidaires, à travers une solidarité qui dure au-delà de l'instant des émotions faciles.

Etre plus solidaires pour s'ider mutuellement à réaliser sa a vocation au bonheur. Il n'est pas possible d'être heureux si,près ou loin de soi, un autre vit dans des conditions humiliantes pour le corps ou pour l'esprit. Le bonheur n'a rien de commun avec un plaisir égoiste.

La politique est la recherche du bien commun. Une politique fermée aux intérêts familiaux n'est pas au service du bien commun. Elle néglige et méprise la Personne. Elle accentue les inégalités.

Nous avons hérité un monde marqué d'un profond invidualisme et nous avons entreprise de la faire plus solidaire. Toute vie familiale consacre la repture avec l'individualisme parce qu'elle renonce à l'égoisme.

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Charles Péguy a écrit que les pères de famille étaient les "aventuriers des temps modernes". L'image conserve encore tout son sens, parce qu'il n'y a pas d'amour sans espérance et qu'il n'y a pas d'espérance sans risque.

Frans VAN MECHELEN

Non-Governmental Activities: Participation in Family Policy

1. What is meant by Family Policy ?

One would think that there would be no need to put such a question in this modern day and age. However, the reverse becomes more and more apparent when observing how those in authority, members of the Government, the instigators of public opinion or EEC-officials do not always appear to have an accurate understanding of family policy.

In the first place, family policy should be distinguised from social policy. The two undoubtedly overlap one another. There are, undoubtedly, mutual factors to be found between social policies, because in general the aim of these is to provide additional support to groups which have lagged behind in the community, or groups which are socially-economically less privileged, so that their share in the overall social system will improve, and family policies, because, generally speaking again, families enjoy a less favourable position in the social-economic system accordin to their size and the number of children.

However, it would, on the ther hand, be far too simple to label general social measures, such as, for instance, health

-insurance, widow(er)s and orphans pensions or even education, as family policy. If this were to be done, the entire politics of a nation would, in fact, be aimed at the family which it ultimately ought to be - and the Prime Minister would have be called a Minister of the Family. It is clear that a specific and dynamic family policy must have its own place side by side with these general social policies, which have been, gaining in importance since the middle of the 19th Century.

Another misconception is to regard family and demographic policies as being one and the same .

There are again a number of mutual factors here. It may, indeed, be said that a family policy could have a positively demographic effect where there is a decreasing birth-rate. It can also be put forward that responsible parenthood could also have a favourable demographic effect in relatively over-population areas, be it in the opposite direction. But it must be clear to everyone that a demographic policy is aimed at the general equilibrium of the number of individuals in and ordered society, whereas family policy is specifically aimed at the dynamic community-life in this society, namely the FAMELY. The family which, at present, appears as an institution contested by many , but which, from a sociological and psychological point of view, undoubtedly appears as a community; constituting an indispensable and necessary unit to parents and children, the members of the family, which makes the life of these membres, more beautiful, richer and independent.

And here we touch upon what the essence of family policy is, or should be. Family Policy is that group of measures taken by the authorities of the municipality, the province, the country or region, the state or the Europe of today or tomorrow, which are aimed at confirming, supporting and appreciating the family as an institution and community, because of which the family itself can lead a proper existence in the whole of the socio-cultural community, and in which every member of the family can develop him or herself to this or her own full value.

Putting it negatively, no social-economic discrimination should take place whatever the number of children. To put it negatively once more, the family may not be seen as a left-over from something totally out-dated, as a museum-piece from the world of old;no, the family should be regarded as an indispensable element for the whole so society, for its construction, growth, structure and composition, for the world of TOMORROW.

Family policy must be aimed at the overall development in the European, national, regional and also municipal framework, both of the community, formed by the family itself, and of the members belonging to this community.

I should like to draw your attention to this important aspect at a time that both left and right-wing forces are

working towards decreasing the meaning of the family and even towards undermining the family.
There are enough signs to convince us that the family has once more entered into a dangerous situation, such as the support of unconditional abortions, and divorce on application without a guilty party. And we have to realise that the family does not only come under attack from those whom we have traditionally known to be our enemies, but that these enemies are closer to home than we ourselves would wish. In other words, Family Policy ismore than ever an absolute necessity in its dynamic and specific character.

2. Which field should be covered by Family Policy?

It is clear that a large variety of policy-means exists. Namely, they can be either direct, or indirect. Direct measures will, for instance, render immediate advantages for the families, while indirect measures only have the nature of improvement of the community-aspect of the family, for instance, by compaigns for responsible parenthood.

Some policy-means can contradict each other and create the opposite to the desired effect to the family in its traditional form.
Indeed, we cannot overlook the tangible fact that in the various countries of the European Community more and more married women are also taking jobs. Policy measures promoting labour-opportunity for married women can be called undesirable to the family, if no adequate facilities are created for the children. On the other hand, if women in general work away from home, discrimination could be created in the scope of equality with women who do not work away from home, but who look after the children unless adequate conditions and the prospect of adequate help are created for the wife and mother who stays at home.

Finally, evolution can take place in policy-means. For instance, bear in mind the Club of Rome, which some years ago warned of too large a growth in population and saw this as a cause of great world-population. This, for instance, brought about a certain form of birth-control in India, which as you know, became politically disastrous for the Congress-party. At present, however, it is established in virtually all the countries of the European Community that the decrease in population through the low birth-rate poses serious questions, causing some economists to request new measures promoting the increase in birth-rate, as, generally, there is discontentment over the totally unrestricted introduction of migrant workers.

I should like to put forward that it is not so easy to take family-measures, because they can both be functional and at the same time in different ways have a negative effect.

I should like to put forward two further examples. A family policy aimed at large families of three, four, five or more children can clash with a family policy aimed at young families of 0 1 or 2 children.

Another example: A family policy for the so-called normal or average family of father, mother and children can contradict a family policy aimed at unmarried mothers, widows, deserted women, divorced parents, parents with handicapped children, etc. etc. In other words, family policy must have a dynamic, up-to-date and specific character to be able to maintain and adapt itself to the changing circumstances of the present time, and at the same, time keep on aiming at values which, in our opinion, as far as the family is concerned, are values which will withstand the course of time because they are so deeprooted in the existence of our human inheritance itself.

I should simply like to keep the substance of the family policy in its classical sub-division:

material and immaterial advantages

I could express this in another and probably more modern way, namely, the difference between measures taken in an economic scope and those taken in the scope of social welfare.
I therefore, join the world-wide evolution from life in prosperity to life in welfare.
However, these two cannot simply be separated from one another. But they can be distinguished. It should never be forgotten that welfare is, more than ever, linked with prosperity. It is very difficult for a family in the modern industrial community or in the third world to attain welfare, if it does not dispose over a minimum amount of prosperity, so that - and this comes directly in the sociological scope - the family does not have to feel frustrated towards other members of the society. Hence, the close link between the so-called material and immaterial, and between the so-called prosperity and welfare aspects.

A. We shall start with the prosperity-elements in family policy, those which, therefore, tend to be material and economic.

The most outstanding from are of course family allowances. The basis for family allowances is formed by two factors:

1. Children are an financial liability which weighs down more heavily on the family-budget in our modern society as the number of children increases, and
2. The income of one of the partners in the family is directly dependent on the very libility which the presence of the children has caused in the family-budget.

You will observe that this already leads us to some extent to the immaterial scope, but I shall go into this further lateron.

The second important measure which we have always defend in the material or economic scope, is the fiscal adjus - tement. We have always held that a family, whatever its income, should be able to maintain an equal standard of living, irrespective of whether it has more children or fewer.
You will be aware that in virtually all the countries of the European Community, progressive taxation is regarded as the eminent means of acquiring a form of redistribu - tion of the National Income.
Every socially-minded individual may agree with this,but the family-movements in our country have always aimed at applying the necessary family-modifications to this rule.

We have been able to obtain the following measures in this connection:

a) exemption from tax for minimum incomes, this minimum level rising rapidly according to the number of depen dents.
b) a lowering of taxation for the family liabilities of families in a higher income-group, but which have a larger number of dependent children.

The most appropriate means of achieving justice between families with one and with two incomes, lies in the split ting-system, now already in use in the USA and Germany.

The third important economic, and therefore material, as pect related to families , is consumption. The last few years, consumer-demand has been brought more into the lime-light by family and consumers' organizations. The need had become apparent for family-consumers to set up an instrument in answer to the powerful producers' orga- nizations with their advertising facilities, which would put them on a more equal footing with the producers by providing information, protection and legislation. This has been organized gradually in Belgium, and in 1976 a Research and Infomation Centre for Consumers Organizations was established.

B. Beside the economic and material aspects, there are the welfare or immaterial aspects.

It is evident that no measure can be considered as pure- ly material or immaterial and mixture of aspects is en - countered again here.
Here are some examples:

Services for home-help . These are people, usually women whose occupation it is to help in a home where the mo ther is temporarily unable to look after her family due to illness, confinement or other circumstances.

Social Husing. This is , of course, a purely material as pect, because housing has, naturally, become expensi- ve in a country like Belgium which has the closest po pulation-density in Western Europe.

It has been achieved that special mesures which earlier on related to the housing of families of four children have now been extended to families of three children . This regulation came into forcein 1975. The extension to families of three children also applies to educational ansloans and public transport discounts. I should like to add here that the public transport discount is not only applicable to our own nationals, but, in compliance with a ruling by the European Court, also to all the citizens of the European Community residing in Belgium, and that this regulation has recently been extend to migrant workers as well.
This means reduced fares on public transport for parents for life and for their children until their studies are finished. A minimum of three children in the family is required for eligibility.

This second part deals with the pursuit of family organizations in their aims in the scope of political policy-decisions.

Every family organization should be working towards these three different aspects:

1. a large membership, which makes the movement independent through its own membership contributions;
2. the publication of its own magazine if the family organization concerned is to influence public opinion;
3. a well-organised Study Deparment should belong to every organization, because such a service can reach Parliament, the Government and public opinion through strenght of arguments and well-documented notes, as well as by means of the weekly or montly magazine.

Bearing these formulas in mind, I should like to make a short analysis of the way in which the Belgian family organizations, and in particular the League of Large and Young Families, try to influence Belgian political policy-decisions regarding family policy. This is done three different ways, and I should like to discuss these with you.

1. Method: - institutions for family policy.

   This means that a number of institutions exist in our country, which either decide, advise on, or guide family policy. As a family organization we try either to fill a function in, to exercise pressure on, or to effect the erection of these institutions.

   a) in the local scope
   The League has pursued, and has achieved, the establisment of a Family Council, which informs and advises the Municipal Authorities, in over 80% of the municipalities of Flanders' approximately 300 municipalities. A Councillor for Family Affairs, who has been charged especially with the implementation of family policies at a municipal level, has been appointed in at least 2 out of 3 municipalities.

b) in the national scope
For some years, the Ministry for the Family has been in existence, and has at times been based independently, and at other times jointly wuth the Ministryof National Health. Attached is an important advisory council, namely the High Council for the Family, which advises the Government, and which takes the initiative in proposals for new legislation. Several members, representatives of the League, and other family organizations, are seated in the High Council for the family.

c) in the European scope
Your organization, Mr. Chairman, and our own as well, provide a considerable share in the effort to gain adeguate influence at European level over the material and immaterial aspects of family problems in the C.O.F.A.C.E.

d) in the international scope
In order to complete the picture, the International Union of Family Organisation, in which our organizations play a part as well, should be mentioned.

2. Representation by the League in the various advisory bodies and administrative committees.
As in Belgium family affairs are not only dealth with by the Department for the Family, but also by the Departments of Social Security, the Middle Classes, National Education, Justice, Economic Affairs, and Culture, our family organization has been aiming at being represented in the various advisory bodies which are attached to these departments,in order to defend the specific family interests regularly. Some of these bodies are by name:

- the National Service Department for Family Allowances for Employees, which is the semi-official organization for family allowances for employees.
- the National Service Department for Social Security for Independent Workers, which administers the family allowances for independent workers.
- the Protection-of-Youth Committees at the Ministry of Justice.
- the Consumers' Council.
- the Prices Board
- the High Council for the Aged.
- the High Council for the Handicapped
- the Commission for Army-Youths.

This is only an incomplete list merely to illustrate that the family organizations in general, and the ones which I have the honour to represent in particular, are represented at various levels in the various departments which are connected with the family, to propagate our family-ideals and to influence the family polities by their ideas,their reports and notes, and the influence through our weekly paper.

3. Concrete action within the League itself.
I have already mentioned our weekly paper in the national scope, and I should now like to give you an exemple of this.

In the issue of this weekly, which was published during the week prior to the General Elections, the Chairman of the five political parties represented in Flanders and in Parliament, were able to give their opinion on family policies fairly independently without any censorship or omissions, so that our members, who represent approximately a million voters in Flanders, could form their own opinion on the family policies wich these parties represent. We also obtained interviews for our weekly paper with Ministers, prominent Members of Parliament who present Bills, etc. etc.

Press-communications are distributed regularly. For example:

One Thursday-evening, the Minister Social Security spoke on Family Allowances problems, and posed the question whether this benefit could continue to be paid for the first child. An immediate reaction came in the national press on all the front-pages on the Friday itself, which even necessitated the Prime Minister to reprimand his Minister of Social Security.

Every other month, we have a regular programme on the National Broadcast.

A magazine on family policy is published,in which our organizations' main thesis in the scope of family policies is put forward in a more scientificly founded manner than in the popular manner of the League's weekly De Bond.

Several research-commission, in which prominent persons from the economic-social world, Members of Parliament from various Parties, and representatives from organizations which we are on friendly term with, are taking part, are working on the most important aspects of family policy.

Once every three months, an Afternoon-meeting is held with the Press and politicians with a view to discuss their concrete proposals in the field of our organizations's family policy. For exemple, we provided press-information on a "Child-minded Municipality" before the Local Elections.

Parliamentary questions and even legislative proposals are prepared for Members of Parliament with whom we have friendly relations.

Lectures on family politics are held all over the country for our own and for befriended organizations. And last but not least every five years we compile a five-years-plan, in which we try to comply with the trends in the economic and social development, and to formulate our own proposals for this from the family point of view.

This happens likewise in the local scope through local work-groups on family policy, forcing local concessions to the families, and through consumers'clubs and local training activities, etc.

Family Policy in European countries can only be attained if Europe is not only based on economics or on agricultural measures - how necessary they may be - but only if Europe is conceided as Europe of Families.

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Wilfried A. DUMON

Changing family and changing family policy in the eighties

INTRODUCTION

The needs of the families as they are defined or even identified by society and by governments is function of the images (Leitbilder) governments have of families. In Western Europe family policy has continuously been developing according to the changes, not so much in the actual family needs, but according to the development in the definition and the notion of family.

1. Development and characteristics of family policy en Europe

Family policy in Western Europe initially developed after the first World War in the twenties and early thirties . This family policy was explicit and simple. Its main concern was to give economical support to families. The family structure in the twenties-thirties was changing dramatically. A new family type, which was very highly respected, emerged. Is is the family of the new middle class , the new white collar middle class. This new type differed from the old pattern in which family and work were located at the same place, in which family and profession were interturned such as in farming, handicrafts, small enterprise, free professions. The new type that occured was not new in the sense that it did not exist before but it was new in the sense that is became respectable to the extent that it became the model or in sociological language, the

reference qourp, the positive reference group. In this family the husband is not self-employed but employed i.e. working outside the home in a repsected job such as teacher, employee in private, in public or semi-public service.

For the structure of the family as well as for the family organization, this has far reaching consequences. The family of that highly industrial period develops an internal division of labour with strong segregation in instrumental and expressive roles. The instrumental roles are being taken on by the father/husband, the expressive roles by the wife/mother. Also the situation of the children is changin. Instead of assets, carrying on name and profession, they becomee liabilities or, at least, instead of investments, persons to be invested in.

Family policy occured in Western Europe as a societal response to the economical weakness of that new family system. In that respect, the economical support for families was the main feature of family policy (family allowances, tax rebates). It is important to stress that this support in a very early stage became a right more than welfare. In many countries after the second World War family allowance became integrated in the social security system. This is importan because it is one of the indices that this family policy was not for the poor alone but for all families implying that it gave respectability not only to the programme but to the family. In French the term "prestations familiales" has some connotations of rewards more than support.

A) As a consequence, a first characteristic of this family policy was/is that the redistribution of income was more horizontal than vertical. It was transferring money from families with few or no children to families with many children. It was more meant to even the costs for dependant family members (in German: Familienlastenausgleich) than giving from higher income groups to lower income groups. In this respect family policy had no social class connotation with a double effect (a) Families were not stigmatized by receiving child allowances/tax reductions, on the contrary. The solidarity of society for the welfare of children and families was not only stressed but being put into effect. (b) A second consequence was that this program was rather social-stratification-blind; the fact that children were unevenly distributed according to social class (in a U-shaped curve) was not recognised. The stand taken explicitly was that families should not be handicaped by the mere fact of having children. So the relative deprivation was more stressed than the absolute needs. In the rethoric on family policy the term used is "the family" as if the family were a monolith, hiding the fact that families night have quite different needs according to social class. Social scientific research has contributed to this image of the family, stressing the differentiation according to number of dependants, number of children. The family budget studies do offere here a good

example, being conducted under the style: What does a child cost? The purpose was to measure the average cost the important feature being that the average costs of the average child was measured more than the differentiated costs according to social class. It is important to remark that the notion of "cost" derived from the social syrvey was/is being translated into "need" in policy measures.

A note should be added that countries who developed family early such as France and Belgium tend to emphasize the child allowance measures stronger than countries who developed such policy somewhat later. The latter, such as Germany and the Netherlands, have a tendency to stress tax measures more (Familienlastenausgleich). Still this is a relative matter since child allowances are not absent in the latter, nor are tax measures in the former. Moreover it should be stressed that these two kinds of measures are the more important ones but not the only ones. Whole a series of additional measures favouring families with dependant children can be cited here.

B) Next to the horizontal distribution of icome, or second characteristic of this family policy is that it was not only in support of that emerging family type described above but was based in its operationalisation on that type of family. Child allowance for instance was based on the earnings of the husband/father to the extent that it was part of his wages, but it was paid to the wif/mother who was taking care of the children (division of labour within the family). As a consequence the right on family allowance was related to the fact that the family got a capable, fully employed, hard working husband/father. For the unemployed, for unmarried mothers, initially family allowance were harder to get and even today in some countries there is some difference, now being defined as discrimination.

C) A third characteristic of family policy uo to the second World War was its linkage with demographic policy. Family policy, being aimed in the twenties at the welfare of the families, became more and more a natalistic policy. However, an important note should be added. The effect of family allowance, for instance, on birth rate never has been demonstrated. What was happening, and sometimes still is happening, is that claims, revendications, for a raise in family allowances for instance, were/are backed by a reference to the endangered demographic situation (population structure) of a given country. The effect might have been nil or even somewhat to the reserve. Family allowance having raised the standard of living and thus the social aspirations of families, may have contributed to the rising of their social aspirations. Since procreation is an irreversible act, this effect can only be measured over two generations, so that children of large families would then tend to have smaller ones. Indeed, family size does not tend to be continuated intergenerationally.

The three characteristics, horizontal redistribution, demographic effects as well as linkage with labour, have been critisized ever since the sixties. Many new measures being introduced have a tendency to build in income thresholds, to become more income related. The family organisations have a difficult time in advocating measures for families as families, the whole rethoric being shifted to vertical redistribution. Also the second feature stressed here that the benefits should be dependant on the work of the work of the husband/father is being questioned. Two factors are here involved; a) the dependant status of women and to some extent of children, nolonger is taken for granted and b) different life styles instead of one are becoming more tolerated and even accepted. As a consequence many of the social security measures, including family allowances, as well as tax measures, have a tendency in many Western European countries to become more individuated, less family- (or house-hold-) centered.

As a conclusion the family policy that was developed between World War I and II and consolidated after the second World War, was based on a family type with segregated roles, the husband/father being the breadwinner the wife/mother being the home-maker, giving nuturance to the children. This family policy corresponding to that family type can be coined as an enabling policy, meaning that it gives ways and means to families to fulfill their roles. All definitions we were able to identify up to 1976 stated that family policy was a policy towards the benefit of the family. "Family policy aims at the family welfare. It is inspired by its attachment "to the families and its concern to protect and help them, not by substituting itself for them but by enabling them to secure their specific "functions and take their responsibilities".(de Bie).

2. Changing characteristics of family policy

A Grønseth has been the first to change this definition to the effect that family policy would be " a more or less coherent and explicit theory and practice with the aim of influencing the structure and function of nuclear "and of extended family units". The more recent definitions of family policy usually stress that family policy is purposeful or planned action to influence directly or indirectly, family structures and family functions (e.g. definition by M. Wingen 1980). This apparently a slight difference in definition of family policy covers dramatical changes. The enabling policy has been supplemented and even partially replaced by a policy which we have labeled as preventive and curative policy and in some aspects a part-time and partial replacement policy.

In the sixties, in many countries, family policy got a new dimension and in many countries ministries or departments for family were established for the first time. in the seventies, in some countries these ministries have disappeared, but in some they still exist. It is important to note that, as a rule, these departments did not have in their realm family allowances nor tax rebates, measures which were - and to some extent still are - the core of the family policy up to the sixties. These ministries had in their realm

that, as a rule, these departments did not have in their realm family allowance nor tax rebates, measures which were - and to some extent still are - the core of the family policy up to the sixties. These ministries had in their realm the so-called non-material family policy, such as family and sex education, family preparation etc. This policy, which has been labeled as "non-material' in the Netherlands, sometimes was very material, but instead of direct help to families it far more consisted of establishing intermediate services between government and families rather than giving direct aid to families. Three types of measures can be distinguished.

A) Preventive and educational measures. In the sixties governments as well directly, as indirectly, i.e.by performing these services themselves as well as organisations (subcontracting) were starting compaigns,for instance on contraception. More than family planning which has demographic connotations, "responsible parenthood" was here at stake. Families should only have the children they wanted at the time they wanted . Not only families, but marriage was here at stake. Young girls should not become pregnant and thus forced into marriage. Responsible parenthood also means that on one should become a parent, married or unmarried , not wanting to be so. From the perspective of children each child should be a wanted child. These campaigns were started in countries with low birth rate, implying that from this point on a clearcut discrpancy developed between family policy and population policy . Family policy became matter of policy of social well-being and was no longer servile to population policy. On the contrary, population policy, in many countries still a very touchy and delicate subject, is being promulgated as being conditioned by the requisites of a family policy.

This contraceptive policy, being functional in a so - called contraceptive society, meaning a society in which on one should become pregnant without wanting so has had consequences for the so-called legalised abortion in many countries. These technical measures have been supplemented by a claim for educational measures such as marriage preparation, preparation for parenthood and permanent education on parenting, education and preparation for and training in building and maintaining relationships, sexual information and education in schools as well as in adult education. All these measures realised or to be realised, have been labeled as ingredients of a "well conceived" family policy, which can be labeled as preventive family policy.

B) A second new emphasis was on the so-called collective sector. Here is meant: other measures than direct economical help, or non-material measures for families di-

rected at individual families (for instance contraception). These measures are provided not on an individual or household basis but on a neighbourhood -, community- or regional basis. These collective measures include, among others day-care centres and crêches for children, as well as household help, mother/father substitutes. In contrast to the old type family policy, these measures are strongly income-related. I.e. preority is given to lower incomegroups, and payment for service is according to income. These measures mean a temporary or partial replacement of the family as a whole or of a position in the family.

This (part-time/partial) replacement policy has different functions.

First it gives an incentive to the possibility of gainful employment and even career of the wife/mother outside the home. This is in sharp contrast to measures trying to give premium to the premanent availability of the wife/mother within the household. In more recent times and in some countries, these measures tend to become non-sex-specific, to the effect that also the husband/father can be included. Here once more, the image of a more symmetrical family appears as a model rather than the role-segregated model, characteristic for, or at least taken for granted in the old-type family policy.

A second and very important factor is finance. Higher budgets for these programs not necessarily imply better services for families. They can be due to demands or revendications, not of the service-receivers, but of the service-performers. I.e., there are no longer two groups: families and policy makers (governments), but at least three groups to be distinguished in family policy: policy-makers, service-renders (professionals) and families (service-receivers).

C) A third new series of measures can be labeled as the <u>therapeutic and repairing measure</u>. Centres for marriage and partner-therapy can be mentioned here. Typical for these measure is that they presume as well as develop whole a series of new professionals such as family therapists, family counselers etc. This implies that the scientific approach is becoming very important and the family ideology, familialism or family as a value gradually is being substituted by technology; not the values but the techniques become important. The family value is being replaced by the individual value; not individualism but individuation. With some overstate - ments and some over-simplification, this development could be described as changing the target of the policy from family, over relationships to the person in her or his development. A second feature of this policy is that a shift is occuring from emphas on the model-modal family (middle class happy husband/wife with children) to the structural of functional deficient family; not to provlem-families but to families with problems i.e. not to families with problems (pro

blem-families) but to families with family-problems: e.g. one-parent-families (structural), divorce (functional) . This development even has provoked some reaction to the effect that so-called normal families - whatever that may be - tend to be relatively neglected by lack of attention from the governing bodies; some groups blame politicians and society at large for paying too much attention to so-called non-typical situations.

However the definition of normal is no longer self-evident. The self-evident normal family pattern has been replaced by pluralism, meaning a variety of accepted or at least tolerated alternative family-styles, alternative life-styles or modified family forms or marriage forms such as pre-marital- and/or marriage-like cohabitation.

This points to a third characteristic, i.e. that the policy becomes less focused on a single purpose (unidimensional) but becomes pluriform, trying to serve different family ideals simultaneously. It even tends to become, at least in some societies and to some extent, dualistic to the effect that almost oppositional measures have to be taken simultaniously in order to again acceptance or not to discriminate one family form against the other.

CONCLUSIONS

1. In describing the development in family policy from an enabling policy to a preventive, therapeutic replacement policy, it is important to stress that the changes mentioned here indeed did occur one subsequent to the other. A time perspective is involved. However, in most of the countries, the new measures did not replace or substitute for the older ones but became additional. Therefore family policy tends to become somewhat loosely conceptualised i.e. highly pragmatic . As a consequence, on open, well-planned family policy, as defined in the classical definition, gradually is becoming difficult to observe. Family policy tends to become more and more incorporated in a general social welfare policy in which families as such scarcely are the focus of attention. Focus of attention are deprived groups, exploited groups, discriminated groups, ar as described in Dutch "kansarme groepen", groups with unequal chances or groups in situations which only provide poor opportunities.

2. These developments have not only implications for the policy makers but also for family organisations. The direct economic measures for families (enabling policy) called for large strong family organisations of the revendicative type, acting as family unions, defending and protecting the interests of families as families. The preventive policy made these organisations take on the additional role of permanent education to the benefit of their members. The substitutional policy offers them a new challenge of becoming

consumers'organisation, by helping their members to request the proper service and to enable them to obtain the best quality service at the lowest cost.

3. As for the families, the implications are the most important. On one hand all types of technocrats and bureaucrats become not only interested but even involved in family life. Although these services are highly valued and needed in many families, and in many instances in any family, although these services still need to be expanded and undoubtedly will be epanded much further, this innovation, development and expansion will not occur without a price to be paid. The price is the high respect for science to the excess of sometimes attributing infailibility to it. In some circles voices are heard to the effect that parenting is the only profession people may exert without a diploma etc. etc.

   The growing involvement of experts in family life, the strong social pressure on educating or socialising children in the right way, professionally prescribed might not only cause ansiety (in relating to other persons or in parenting). This is a psychological problem. For our point of view the sociological is more important being that some elements in the new development can in some respect be identified as new taboos being fabricated to substitute for the old ones which we abolished with some enthusiasm. I would like to make a plea for confidence in human beings, in many instances being capable of handling their own situations by the mere virtue of their belonging to the species of the homo sapiens.

74)

Louis ROUSSEL

Tendances récentes des comportements et des opinions en matière de famille

Définir une politique de la famille suppose à la fois le choix d'un objectif et la recherche des moyens pour l'atteindre. Mais comment apprécier la pertinence de ces moyens sans avoir une idée précise de ce qu'est devenue cette famille dans nos sociétés occidentales au seuil de cette nouvelle décennie? Chacun de nous, qui 'est à la fois spectateur et acteur de ces changements, a, sur le sujet, sa propre idée. Mais sa perception est nécessairement limitée par le poste d'observation particulier qui est le sien, par son propre environnement familial et social, comme par son système de valeurs. Dépasser, autant qu'il est possible, cette perspective limitée, rassembler des données plus représentatives de la réalité, analyser ces informations, mesurer, s'il est possible, l'ampleur des changements, telle est la fonction modeste mais probablement indispensable du démographe. Telle sera le thème de cette communication.

A qui se propose de formuler une politique de la famille ou simplement d'apprécier les politiques actuelles, une question préalable se pose en effet. C'est une idée généralement admise qu'au cours des 15 dernières années, des transformations importantes ont marqué les opinions et les comportements matrimoniaux. Mais ce sentiment est-il vraiment fondé? N'est-ce pas l'illusion de chaque génération de croire qu'elle se situe à un "tournant de l'histoire" et qu'elle assiste à une grave modification de l'équilibre antérieur?

Objectera-t-on que les changements contemporains ont été si brusques que nous n'avons pas cette fois eu besoin de prendre pour référence la connaissance plus ou moins floue que nous avons de la génération précédente. Ne nous suffit-il pas de nous reporter en arrière d'une seule décennie et de nous représenter ce que nous observions ou pensions alors?

Il ne nous est pourtant pas possible de nous fier à une simple impression si nous voulons apprécier exactement la réalité et l'ampleur des changements effectifs. Ce qui nous paraît aujourd'hui si nouveau en matière familiale, n'est ce pas simplement un aménagement un peu spectaculaire, mais en réalité superficiel d'un système matrimonial qui, pour l'essentiel, n'aurait pas changé. Et sur quels critères décider qu'il s'agit vraiement d'une remise en cause des fondements même de ce système? Question ambitieuse et à laquelle il sera difficile de répondre avec une évidence vraiment scientifique; mais question inévitable, pour ceux que s'efforcent de définir les voies et les moyens d'unepolitique.

I. Le bouleversement des comportements

Pour tenter de trancher aussi objectivement que possible cette question, le démographe peut paraître particulièrement bien armé. Aux impressions subjectives, il oppose les longues et multiples séries d'indices qui mesurent exacteement les changements, qu'il s'agisse du mariage on de la fécondité, et plus généralement de la fréquence ou du calendrier des événements démographiques. Considérant les courbes où s'inscrivent les comportements matrimoniaux des pays de l'Europe de l'Ouest, il y observe, à l'évidence, autour de l'année 1965, une brusque et générale inflexion des tendances. A la régularité et à la relative stabilité des comportaments observés dans les deux décennies précédentes, succèdent soudain des inflexions marquées et de brutales inversion. Leur revue systématique serait fastidieuse. On ne rappellera ici que quelques exemples particulièrement significatifs.

Pour mesurer ces changements, nous utiliserons l'indice du moment (1). Il s'ait d'une valeur statistique qui mesure l'importance que prendrait à long term un phénomène, si les niveaux actuels devaient se maintenir. C'est donc un indicateur de tendance qu'il convient d'interpreter avec prudence, dans la mesure où il traduit en une seule valeur quantitative les changements de calendrier et ceux d'intensité. Ceci dit, les variations de ces indices n'ont jamais été aussi fortes, en dehors des périodes de guerre, qu'au cours des 15 dernières années.

Tout le monde a présente à l'esprit la baisse de la fécondité et sait que dans la plupart des pays industriels, l'indice du moment y est passé en dessous du seuil de renouvellement des générations. Mais peut-être n'est-il pas inutile de rappeler que l'indice au Pays-Bas est passé en 12 ans de 3,05 enfants par femme à 1,59. Faut-il préciser que dans certaines grandes villes européennes, Munich par exemple, cet indice est descendu nettement en dessous de 1 enfant par femme (2)

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(1) Les démographes appelle cet indice "somme des événements réduits"

(2) A Munich,il est d'environ 0,80.

D'une manière générale, la famille de 3 enfants est devenue rare; celle de 4 enfants on plus, exceptionnelle. Les enquêtes d'opinions montrent qu'une sorte de convergence s'est produite dans la plupart des pays pour fixer à deux le nombre d'enfants souhaité par la majorité. Il est vrai que depuis un an ou deux une certaine stabilité se manifeste dans les indices, voire une légère augmentation, mais rien ne permet de décider s'il s'agit là d'un palier provisoire ou d'un véritable redressement (3).

En ce qui concerne la divortialité, la modification de l'indice du moment n'a pas été moins considérable, mais cette fois en hausse. En Angleterre, on est passé de 11 divorce pour 100 mariages en 1965 à environ 35 en 1976. Dans la même période, la fréquence a plus que doublé en Suède où elle dépasse maintenant 40. Aux Etats-Unis, toujours en indice du moment, on en est presque arrivé à un divorce pour deux mariages. De tels niveaux suggèrent non pas un simple changement quantitatif de la divortialité, mais une sorte de transformation qualitative: on passerait d'un mariage en principe définitif à une union dont la nature même impliquerait une forte probabilité de rupture. On observe d'ailleurs un changement également important dans le calendrier du divorce: alors que, avant 1965, la plus forte probabilité de divorce se situait après une dizaine d'années de mariage, c'est maintenant dans les 5 premières années que se situe le mode de se phénomène.

Faut-il établir pour autant un lien entre l'augmentation de la divortialité et la baisse de la fécondité? Probablement pas, du moins d'une manière directe. L'interruption de la vie conjugale est, en effet, pour les conjoints jeunes, fréquemment suivie d'un remariage qui est parfois le motif d'une naissance supplémentaire. Par contre, il n'est pas impossible que le sentiment diffus de la fragilité de l'union dissuade les couples d'avoir une descendance nombreuse.

Quant à la nuptialité, elle n'a pas échappé, en dépit parfois d'un certain retard, à la turbulence générale des taux. En 1965, dans tous les pays de l'Europe de l'Ouest, l'indice du moment correspondait presque partout à une fréquence du célibat définitif généralement inférieure à 5% pour les femmes. Aujourd'hui ce même indice, s'il persistait, aboutirait souvent à une fréquence du célibat définitif supérieure à 25%. En 1977, l'indice du moment de la nuptialité était pour 1000 femmes, de 730 en France, de 608 en Suisse, de 566 en Suède.

Il est vrai que cet indice du moment doit être interprété avec plus de prudence encore que pour la fécondité et la divortialité: l'effet de calendrier est ici probablement beaucoup plus lourd. Ces faibles indices traduisent en effet

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(3) Ce palier pourrait simplement exprimer l'influence d'un changement de calendrier. Une partie de la baisse de la fécondité observée dans les derniéres années serait imputable à des naissances retardées provisoirement et qui se produiraient actuellement.

pour une large part, le retard au mariage que provoque la diffusion de la cohabitation juvénile.

Cette pratique constitue une des manifestations les plus spectaculaires des changements récents. Il ne s'agit plus ici de simples relations sexuelles prénuptiales mais d'une vie commune permanente, vie commune qui d'ailleurs n'aboutit pas nécessairement au mariage et qui est même vécue dans un certain nombre de cas comme un refus de l'institution matrimoniale. Au Danemark et en Suède, cette pratique est devenue la norme. En France, en Suisse, en Allemagne elle se diffuse plus ou moins rapidement. Dès maintenant, elle a cessé d'etre statistiquement négligeable. En France parmi les cohortes de mariages de 1976 et 1977, plus de 40% de conjoints avaient probablement cohabité avant de se marier.

Dira-t-on que les données qui viennent d'être présentées ont été triées d'une manière un peu partiale et qu'il conviendrait, pour être objectif, de signaler par exemple, la baisse générale des conceptions prénuptiales et la stabilité, voire la diminution, ici et là (4), de la fréquence des naissances illégitimes. Ce serait oublier que ces résultats sont largement dus à la progression des méthods modernes de contraception et à l'avortement et qu'ils ont cessé d'être des indicateurs fidèles de la plus ou moins grande fréquence des relation sexuelles hors mariage. La relative stabilité de certains indice masque en réalité les effets compensateurs de pratiques nouvelles.

L'examen de ces changements sectoriels nous avertit bien que quelque chose s'est passé, mais ces données disparates ne nous renseignent guère sur la nature du changement, sur son importance et sa stabilité. Nous gagnerons sans doute dans l'intelligence de l'évolution en cours si nous observons que les changements d'indices observée ne varient pas d'une manière indépendante et qu'il existe des associations régulières qui constituent comme des modeles de comportements.

Définir ces modèles, les découper dans les séries continues des taux démographiques comporte nécessairement une part d'arbitraire. Si nous avons tenté malgré tout, d'esquisser une telle typologie, c'est d'abord parce que ces grappes de comportements associés constituent une approche plus concrète de la réalité .

Définissons en quelques mots chaque type (voir tableau 1).

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(4) En Angleterre, par exemple.

FIGURE 1

Essay de typologie des comportements matrimoniaux	Type 1	Type 2	Type 3	Type 4
Sexualité hors mariage	Interdite en principe pour les deux sexes . Tolérée pour les hommes	Relations sexuelles admise pour l'homme et la femme en cas d'"amour"	Cohabitation admise (sans fécondité)	Liberté sexuelle. Cohabitation avec fécondité. Oblitération de la distinction: légitime, illégitime
Contraception et avortements	Contraception "naturelle"? Maîtrise de la fécondité par l'homme	Contraception artificielle et avortements encore interdits en principe, mais plus facilement accessibles. Utilisés dans le mariage	Admis. Utilisé autant avant le mariage qu'une fois atteint le nombre de enfants souhaité . Maîtrise de la fécondité par la femme.	Considéré comme un droit, ainsi que la stérilisation
Conceptions hors mariage	Assez rares, stigmatisées, entrînent mariage "forcé"	Plus fréquentes, admises par la société mais entraînent encore le mariage	Moins fréquentes (contraceptions , avortement)	Le concept perd tout intérêt
Enfants illégitimes	Rares parce que forte pression contre relations sexuelles hors mariage	Rares (forte pression sociale pour mariage en cas de conception)	En baisse (contraception, avortement)	Augmentation, mais le concept même été contesté
Fécondité	Assez élevés encore (au-dessus de 2,5 enfants)	Assez élevés encore	Plus faible (disparition des naissanes non désirées)	Toujours faible (diminution des enfants souhaités)
Divorce	Interdit, ou encore très rare. Divorce-sanction	Plus fréquent, mais toujours divorce-sanction	Encore plus fréquent Divorce par consentement mutuel	Encore plus fréquent (30 pour 100 mariages). Fin d'un contrat sur demande d'un seul partenaire
Rémariage en cas de divorce	Sans objet	Remariages fréquents surtout pour les hommes.	Remariages fréquents	Remariages moins fréquent pour les hommes et pour les femmes

Le premier type paraît désormais rare, et dans certains pays, exceptional. C'est un mariage encore réglé par un code strict qui définit devoirs et droits, rôles et hiérarchie. Les rôles de l'homme sont nettement différents de ceux de la femmes. Les relations sexuelles n'y commencent normalement qu'avec le mariage. Une comception hors mariage aboutit nécessairement à une union "forcée" de "réparation". L'union est indissoluble. Contraception et avortement sont rigoureusement interdits.

Le deuxième type est plus souple. On tolère en fait sinon en principe quelques relations entre les fiancés. La loi admet le divorce dans des cas extrême. La contracpetion et l'avortement demeurent interdits, mais leur pratique est moins stigmatisée. La fécondité reste relativement élevé. La cohabitation prénuptiale exceptionnelle.

Le modèle 3 accuse encore l'effacement des interdits institutionnels. La cohabitation prénuptiale y est admise, à condition qu'elle exclu la fécondité. Le mariage "forcé" disparaît . Le divorce devient fréquent et la conception d'une rupture de l'union par consentement mutuel est admise. La fécondité baisse . L'avortement devient légal.

Enfin, dans un dernier modèle, la cohabitation devient la norme. Il est indifferent que les enfants naissent avant ou après le mariage. L'idée même de légitimité tombe en desuétude. La fréquence très élevée des divorces s'accompagne d'une baisse sensible des remariages de divorcés.

Encore une fois, comme toutes les typologies, celle-ci comporte une part d'arbitraire. Par ailleurs, il serait naît de vouloir distribuer les Etats suivants cette typologie comme si un modèle unique gouvernait chaque pays. Sans doute y-a-t-il la plupart du temps un modèle dominant: le modèle 4 par exemple, pour les pays scandinaves et le modèle 3 pour l'Angleterre, les Pays-Bas, la France, la Suisse par exemple. Mais il doit rester clair que dans les classe sociales, les traditions familiales ou le choix individuel aboutissent fans un même pays à une certaine distribution des modèles(5). Dans la période de transition que nous traversons, les trois derniers modèles sont partout représentés:seule varie la pondération.

Pour compléter cette analyses des comportements nouveaux , il est intéressant de se représenter ce que devient, sous le modèle 3 par exemple, la déroulement dans le temps des différentes étapes de la vie familiale, ce que les sociologues appellent le cycle de la vie de famille. La vie commune sans mariage y commence en moyenne dès 20-22 ans pour les femmes. Après le mariage, qui se situe le plus souvent vers 23-25 ans, le couple décide généralement d'ajourner encore de un ou deux ans en moyenne le début de sa vie féconde. Alors seulement commence la période de "maternage" où les conjoints, mais la femme surtout, consacrent une part importante de leur temps aux enfants. L'épouse s'efforce le plus souvent de le faire sans pour autant interrompre son activité professionnelle.Lorsque le dernier enfant, le second

(5)C'est là un point dont nous ne méconnaissons pas l'intérêt , bien que nous ne puissons ici que le signaler.

en moyenne, entre à l'école maternelle, commence une période nouvelle où le soin des enfants exige, du moins les jours de semaine, beaucoup, moins de temps. Ansi devient moins précaire l'équilibre pour la femme entre son rôle de mère et ses contraintes professionnelles.

Dans toute cette période, d'une durée de 15 à 20 ans. La vie véritablement commune de la famille se réduit d'ailleurs à quelques heures à peine chaque jour, la soirée: une large part en est d'ailleurs occupée par la réunion muette ont entre 45 et 50 ans, les enfants les quittent. Le couple vivra désormais seul pendant les 20 ou 25 ans qui précédnt la mort du premier conjoint le plus souvent l'homme. Ainsi, jamais la durée du mariage n'aura été aussi longue en l'absence de divorce: environ 45 ans. Mais jamais non plus les membres de la famille n'auront effectivement vécu ensemble si peu de temps.

Si l'on considère maintenant le dernier type, quelques variantes apparaissent. La durée de la cohabitation s'allonge parfois considérablement, elle chavauche plus ou moins avec la période de fécondité. L'instabilité des couples, mariés ou non, augmente. Mais dans les deux derniers modèles, extérieurement au moins, la famille présente des traits communs: fragile, étroite, dispersée géographiquement dans la journée, elle semble déliée de ses principale fonctions traditionnelles et de moins en moins définie par des normes institutionnelles.

Pourron-nous à partir de ces observations décider que, par rapport à la situation des années 50, une transformation radicale s'est produite dans la manière dont est perçu, exprimé et vécu notre système matrimonial. Ou pour reprendre la typologie présentée, entre le modèle 2, celui des années 50 en France par exemple et le modèle 3, celui qui est actuellement dominant dans ce pays, existe-t-il une rupture qui permette d'affirmer que les changements, de l'un à l'autre, sont radicaux?

Si manifestes que soient les transformations observées, il n'est pas possible, sur les seuls comportements, de decider de la portée exacte des changements enregistrés. On sait par exemple qu'Easterlin ne voit dans la baisse actuelle de la fécondité qu'un moment d'un mouvement oscillatoire dont la résultante aboutit, sur deux générations, à une auto-régulation du phénomène. Nous serions "au creux de la vague" et la décennie 80 verrait un redressement très net de la situation. Un autre sociologue américain, E.Carlson, prévoit de son côté, a court terme, une inversion spontanée de la tendance actuelle en matière de devortialité La question reste donc entière: ne sommes-nous pas obsédés par des mouvement qui s'épuiseront de eux-mêmes et la turbulence apparente des indices ne manque-t-elle pas, si l'on prend quelque peu ses distances, une relative stabilité des tendances séculaire?

En réalité, nous nous trouverions devant un modèle fondamentalement stable et les apparentes évolutions de comportements ne seraient rien d'autre que les oscillations un peu violentes mais provisoires d'un système à ce point stable que il est même capable de s'auto-réguler.

Cette interprétation n'est pas invraisemblable. Elle nous empêche, en tout cas, de trancher la question que nous poisons au début. Pour affirmer que nous avons affaire à une mutation durable et non à une mode étrange mais sans consistance, il nous faut faire appel à d'autres critères que ceux des comportements: une analyse des opinions nous apportera peut-être de plus sûres informations.

II. Opinion déclarées en finalités nouvelles

Depuis quelques années, les enquêtes se sont multipliées sur la vie sexuelle prénuptiale, le mariage et la famille.Mais si l'on tente, à travers elle, de mesurer des changements actuels, une première difficulté s'impose: si les enquêtes d'opinion nous apportent un matériel considérable sur la situation présente, elles ne nous fournissent que des indications beaucoup plus légères sur l'état de l'opinion dans les années 50. Bien plus, certaines questions, couramment posées aujourd'hui, auraient fait scandale voici 20 ans et ne pouvaient être posées. On possède donc des résultats comparables sur quelques points particuliers comme le nombre idéal d'enfants; par contre sur des questions esentielles comme celle de l'avortement, du divorce, des relations sexuelles prénuptiales, de l'illégitimité, il est bien difficile de connaître l'état de l'opinion vers 1955 dans la plupart des pays européens, du moins à travers des enquêtes par sondage analogues à celles qui sont actuellement utilisées.

Regardons pourtant les résultats des enquêtes actuelle: elles nous apportent quelques compléments par rapport aux données de comportements. Il faut d'abord reconnaître pourtant que nous nous trouvons, ici aussi, devant des information aussi dispersées que celle qui se rapportent aux données de fait. Telle enquête nous informe sur le sentiment d'une population à l'égard du divorce, telle autre porte sur la contraception ou la cohabitation. Si nous voulons avancer, il nous faut, dans l'analyse des opinions comme dans celle des comportements, tenter de prendre une vue plus systématique et rechercher quelles opinions vont généralement ensemble et forment des grappes qui se retrouvent plus ou moins régulièrement associées dans les réponses des enquêtes. Il va de soi que ces associations ne sont pas générales et qu'elle constituent simplement les constellations les plus fréquentes. La définition de ces grappes s'opinions s'obtient facilement par une analyse des correspondances. Nous en fournissons ici un example tiré d'une enquête française recente (6) (voir figure 2 et 3).

Du modèle 1 au modèle 3, on observera, pour chaque point relatif à l'institution matrimoniale, une dégradation , de l'importance du régulateur institutionnel, dégradation qui s'exprime par la disparition progressive des interdits et des prescrits que comportait la conception traditionnelle du mariage. On con

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(6) L. Roussel et O. Bourguignon. Generations nouvelles et mariage traditionnel, Paris, PUF, 1978, p. 169.

FIGURE 2

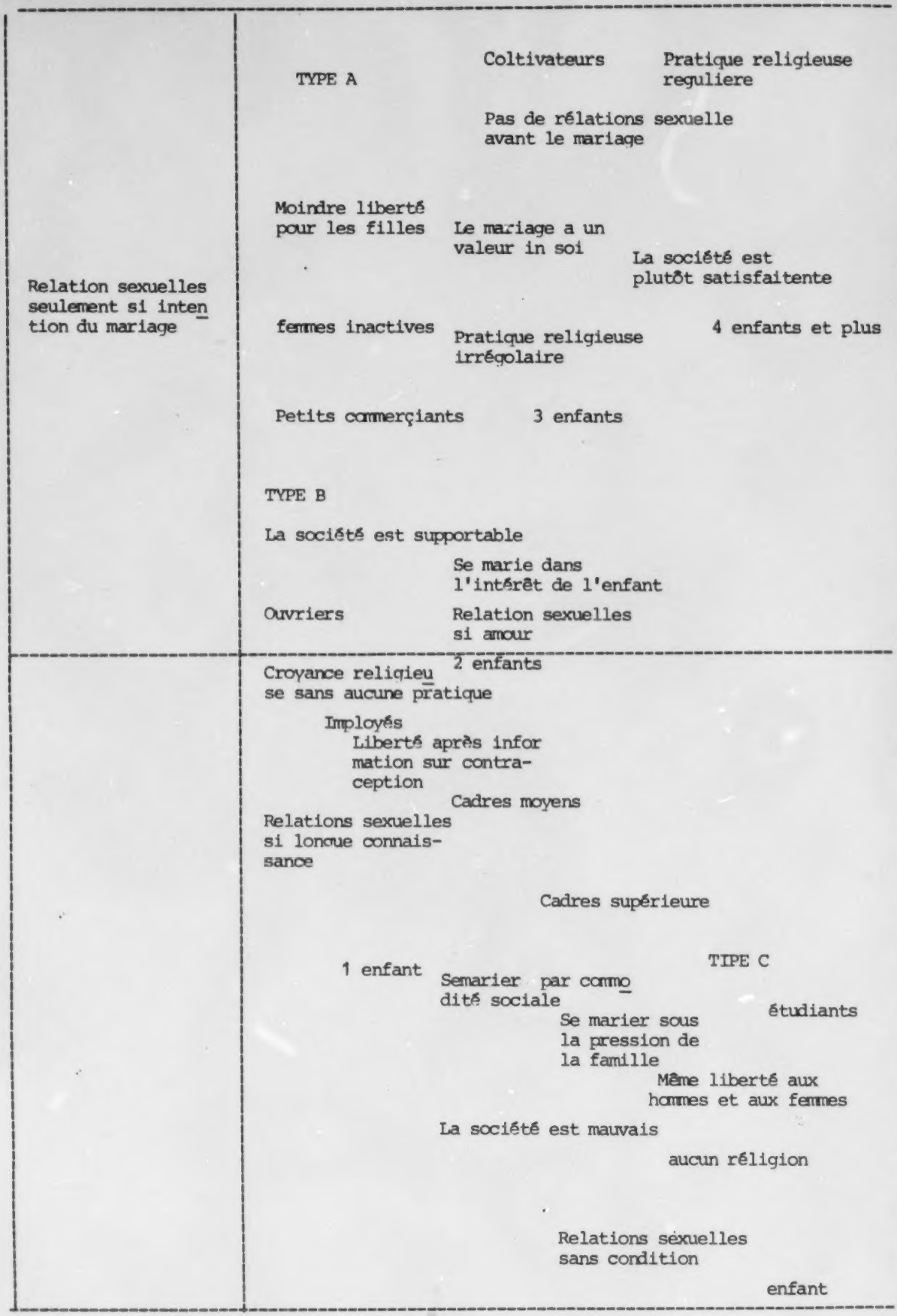
Relation sexuelles seulement si intention du mariage
TYPE A
Coltivateurs
Pratique religieuse reguliere
Pas de rélations sexuelle avant le mariage
Moindre liberté pour les filles
Le mariage a un valeur in soi
La société est plutôt satisfaitente
femmes inactives
Pratique religieuse irrégolaire
4 enfants et plus
Petits commerçiants
3 enfants
TYPE B
La société est supportable
Se marie dans l'intérêt de l'enfant
Ouvriers
Relation sexuelles si amour
2 enfants
Croyance religieuse sans aucune pratique
Imployés
Liberté après information sur contraception
Cadres moyens
Relations sexuelles si longue connaissance
Cadres supérieure
TIPE C
1 enfant
Semarier par commodité sociale
étudiants
Se marier sous la pression de la famille
Même liberté aux hommes et aux femmes
La société est mauvais
aucun réligion
Relations sexuelles sans condition
enfant

FIGURE 3

TYPE A	TYPE B	TYPE C
1 Moindre liberté pour les filles	Liberté identique aprés information sur la contraception pour les filles	Liberté sexuelle identique pour garçons et filles
2 Pas de relations prénuptiales ou seulement si intention de se marier	Relations sexuelles prénuptiales si amour reciproque ou longue connaissance	Relations sexuelles prénuptiales sans condition
3 Le mariage a une valeur en soi	On se marie dans l'intérêt de l'enfant	Le mariage est une commodité sociale ou une concession a la famille
4 3 enfants ou plus souhaités	2 enfants souhaités	O ou 1 enfant souhaite
5 La société est satisfaisante	La société est supportable	La société est mauvaise
6 Pratique religieuse régulière ou irrégulière	Croyance religieuse sans aucune pratique	Aucune religion

state d'ailleurs que cette tendance est liée à une désaffection simultanée à l'égard des valeurs religieuses et sociales.

Ne tentons pas ici d'établir une rigoureuse correspondance entre les modèles des comportements que nous avons repris et ces associations d'opinions. Contentons-nous simplement de remarquer le parallélisme entre les deux classementss à des conduites qui sont de moins en moins réglées par un statut se substituent des comportements qui dépendent de plus en plus du choix des individus et, dans le même temps, apparaissent des opinions qui légitiment cette transformation des normes. On pourrait immaginer une situation où les moeurs seraient plus on moins libres, tandis que le code social garderait une certaine rigueur théorique. Cette situation est aujourd'hui dépassée et dans une large partie de la population, il ne s'agit plus de transgresser une institution dont la valeur serait reconnue: le changement des comportements se double désormais, le plus souvent, d'un abandon des idées qui justifiaient, hier encore, les interdits traditionnels. Bien plus, l'idée même que une loi puisse régler les rapports entre les conjoints apparaît à la majorité de la population comme désuète. La législations de nombreux pays européens a d'ailleurs, partiellement au moins ratifié ce point de vue et la plupart des réformes législatives enregistrées depuis 1970, en matière matrimoniale traduisent non pas une évolution des normes, mais, en fait, un abandon plus ou moins large de la compétence de la loi dans ce domaine. Le droit consacre ainsi la privatisation progressive des comportements matrimoniaux. Les changements intervenus depuis 10 ans dans la législation du divorce constituent un bon exemple de cette évolution: on peut divorcer désormais, comme on se marie, par consentement mutuel.

Sommes-nous à même de repondre maintenant à la question initialement posée: celle de l'importance et de la radicalité des changements observés depuis 1965? Disons que l'analyse des opinions apporte une présomption supplémentaire, mais non une démonstration définitive. N'avons-nous pas vu basculer en quelques années les opinions qui avaient cours dans la décennie 50? La soudaineté des revirements passés ne gage-t-elle pas la possibilité de prochains renversements de tendances. Que l'on se souvienne en particulier du "familisme" que décrit avec tant de pertinence Riesman pour les Etat-Unis (7). Voici trene ans, le souci prioritaire de la femme américaine n'était-il pas de se marier très jeune, et son idéal d'être la souveraine heureuse d'une maisons et d'une famille?

Ne pouvons-nous pas imaginer que ceux qui auront vingt ans au début du prochain millénaire retrouveront des modèles de comportements semblables, et les justifieront de nouveau par les opinions qui avaient cours au lendemain de la deuxième guerre mondiale? De même qu'Easterlin imagine des mouvements oscillatoires dans les indices de fécondité, ne peut-on admettre comme vraisemblables des oscillations dans les opinions relatives à la

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(7) D. Riesman, "L'abandon, à quoi bon?" Paris, R. Laffont, 1969. Voir en particulier, le chapître: "De quelques continuités et ruptures dans l'éducation des femmes". Ce texte à été rédigé en 1956.

fécondité et, plus généralement, dans les opinions relatives au mariage et à la famille?

En réalité, il paraît bien difficile, dès que l'on prend un peu de recul historique, de se représenter l'évolution comme une série d'oscillations qui se contrediraient et se neutraliseraient successivement. En ce qui concerne en particulier le mariage et la famille, il semble bien que les changements s'inscrivent dans une transformation de longue durée, en dépit d'accidents provisoires ou d'apparents et brefs revirements. L'apparence "explosive" des changements observés depuis dix ans s'explique précisément parce que ces changements furent longtemps latents et masqués par l'inertie des conduites et des lois. La transformation en réalité est radicale, parce qu'elle porte non pas seulement sur les comportements et les opinions, mais sur la finalité même du mariage.

Là est la révolution fondamentale et l'on voit bien qu'elle ne date pas des années 60. Limitée dans sa diffusion, désuète dans son expression, à peine consciente chez ceux-là même dont elle réglait la conduite, cette finalité est aujourd'hui presque partout reçue, comme une évidence. Dans les modèles 3 et 4, la famille, et d'abord le couple, constituent l'espace festif singulier où chacun trouve à la fois gratification et sens, identité et réassurance. Bref, la réalité du mariage tient toute entière à l'intensité affective du lien, à l'évidence immédiate de la réciprocité des gratifications. L'acte de se marier se réduit, dans ces conditions, à une formalité, à laquelle on souscrit d'autant plus facilement qu'elle est perçue comme privée de tute signification autre qu'administrative.

Certes, les choses ne sont pas aussi simples et cette priorité de l'effectif sur l'institutionnel prend des formes différentes. Ici dominera encore un modèle qui tentera de concilier institution et solidarité amoureuse. Il trouvera sa justification dans l'idée d'une harmonie préétablie entre l'institution sociale et le bonheur du couple. L'ordre de la nature, la loi de la société, le bonheur de l'individu et, pour le chrétien, la morale divine se rejoignent dans la définition de ce modèle matrimonial. Il est vrai que la réalité ne confirme pas toujours cette concordance. En cas de conflit, c'est alors à l'institution que certains accorderont a lors la primauté.

Un autre modèle conserve à l'institution une valeur specifique, celle d'assurer sécurité et stabilité à l'union, mais l'ordre de préséance s'inverse ici et si l'institution fait obstacle au bonheur, si elle ne scelle plus qu'une union malheureuse ou vide alors c'est à elle de céder devant la finalité désormais prioritaire du bonheur.

Pour d'autre enfin, l'institution ne garde d'autre fonction qu'un acquiescement tout superficiel aux contraintes sociales. Il est plus commode pour le couple de se marier, mais le seul fondement de l'union consiste dans l'intensité du lien affectif qui tient ensemble le couple d'abord, et par la suite, le couple et ses enfants. Cette exclusivité du fondement affectif prend d'ailleurs deux formes. La plus répandue dans les

jeunes générations est celle qui considère le lien affectif comme une fusion amoureuse, telle que le couple devient de une certaine manière un être unique, une dyade. L'idéal est une transparence mutuelle, une dépendance réciproque si vive qu'elle instaure une véritable autarcie affective. La vie idéale du couple est alors conçue commeunelongue passion amoureuse.

Moins fréquente, au moins dans les début du mariage,une autre forme de solidarité matrimoniale se diffuse actuellement. Les conjoints dans le modèle renoncent à cette fusion jugée illusoire ou do moins trop instable et trop lourde de risques. L'union se fonds ici sur une sorte de contrat plus ou moins explicite dont chaque partenaire attend ses propres gratifications. Il s'agit en somme de former ensemble une équipe bien assortie dont chaque membre tirera pour lui les meilleures performances. Ce mariage-association est en quelque sorte la forme moderne du mariage de raison. Il ne s'agit plus ici de reproduire ou d'augmenter le patrimoine des familles, mais de maximiser les probabilités de satisfactions de chaque partenaire.

Il va de soi que, dans la réalité vécue, les modèles ne sont pas aussi tranchés et que des combinaisons variées et fluctuantes apparaissent dans l'histoire d'un même couple. Nous avons simplement ici décrit quelques modèles qui permettent de mieux comprendre à la fois la ligne d'évolution que semblent avoir suivi certaines populations et la diversité des situations que l'on observe aujourd'hui d'un pays à l'autre et à l'intérieur d'un même pays.

De même n'échappera-t-il à personne que cette typologie est loin d'être complète. Nous n'avons pas mentionne ici le idée des "communautés" ni le projet délibéré de certaines femmes d'avoir un enfant tout en refusant la vie de couple (8).

Passeés sous silence également d'autres projets qui s'efforcent, comme disait Thomas Mann, de donner au mariage une "dignité nouvelle" (9). Notre seul objectif était ici de décrire sommairement les modèles qui semblent aujourd'hui dominants. Il ne sera véritablement atteint que si le lecteur perçoit les correspondances qui existent entre les types de comportements, les associations d'opinions, et les finalités. Une logique interne lie ces niveaux de réalité: conduites et opinions ne font rien d'autre que d'exprimer d'une manière cohérente ce qui en réalité les règle et leur donne unité et sens, à savoir la finalité dominante, consciente ou non,mais affective qui constitue le fondement du mariage et de la famille.

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(8) Dans une enquête française recente, 75% des personnes interrogées répondait qu'un "femme de 30 ans, célibataire" a le droit "d'avoir un enfant qu'elle élevéra seule".Générations nouvelles et mariage traditionnel, op.cit.p.107

(9) On ne citera ici que deux ouvrages ou l'auteur s'efforce de définir une "nouvelle dignité". E.Fuchs, Le désir et la tendresse, Gènève, Labor et fide 1979 et M.O.Metral, le mariage, les hésitations de l'Occident,Paris,Aubier 1977.

Prenons un exemple simple: deux phénomènes aussi differents apparemment que la cohabitation et le divorce par consentement mutuel expriment seulement, chacun à sa manière, que l'union du couple est fondée sur la seule solidarité affective: cette solidarité existe-t-elle, elle entraîne la vie commune; mais du moment où elle cesse, toute justification est ritiré à l'union et le divorce paraît s'imposer. De même se trouve transformée la signification de l'enfant dans le mariage. Il est désormais perçu, lui aussi, avant tout comme un partenaire affectif, comme un donneur de tendresse. Le nombre des enfants souhaités, comme l'éducation qui leur sera donnée d'ailleurs, sont désormais réglés par cette situation nouvelle. C'est la bonheur de couple, l'idée qu'il se fait de sa félicité qui règle en définitive l'intensité et le calendrier de la fécondité. Certes, il serait naïf de nier que la diffusion de la contraception moderne et la libéralisation de l'avortement n'aient facilité la réalisation des projets de limitation des naissances. Mais il serait aussi illusoire, et donc finalement inefficace, de voir dans ces pratiques la cause déterminante de l'effondrement récent de la fécondité. Ce qui est premier et décisif, c'est la volonté des couples de restreindre leur descendance parce que cette limitation leur paraît une nécessaire stratégie pour réaliser ce qu'ils attendent du mariage. La fécondité en Europe ne remontera d'une manière sensible et stable que par une transformation profonde des attentes des époux, autrement dit de la finalité du mariage.

A ce point, nous pouvons mieux répondre à la question posée: ce qui a récemment émergé, au terme d'une longue maturation, c'est une conception nouvelle de la vie qui a investi le mariage: institution, autre fois, réglée sur la survie des individus et la reproduction sociale, la famille est devenue l'enclave étroite mais souveraine où chacun espère réaliser, pour son compte, l'idée nouvelle, confusé mais générale, de bonheur.

Avons-nous pour autant compris ce qui s'était passé? Bien plus, avons-nous de la réalité des modèles contemporains des idées suffisamment claires pour réfléchir sur ce que pourrait être une politique familiale? Probablement pas.

N'avons-nous pas en effet traité du mariage comme s'il s'agissait d'un système autonome dont l'évolution se serait déroulée indépendamment de la société globale? Pouvons-nous supposer un instant que la mutation observée soit le fait de simples décisions individuelle convergentes? Ne voyons-nous pas le sociétés acquiescer, de plus ou moins bonne grâce, et plus ou moins rapidement, à la diffusion de ces nouveaux modèles? Nous n'aurons pas abordé tous les aspects du problème, et peut-être aurons nous négligé le principal, si nous ne demandons pas finalement la raison des changements matrimoniaux reconnus et si nous n'envisageons pas l'hypothèse que les changements relatifs à la famille ont été, en verité, induits par des changements plus vastes, ceux de la société globale. Si cette hypothèse était vérifiée, cette dépendance devrait évidemment être prise en compte dans la définition d'une politique familiale.

<u>En guise de conclusion: Evolution de la famille et transformation de la société</u>

Les anthropologues ont souvent souligné l'articulation étroite

qui existe dans les sociétés archaïques entre "les structures élémentaires de la parenté" et le fonctionnement de la société globale. Les historiens des pays occidentaux n'ont pas manqué, de leur côté, d'insister sur la correspondance qui existait autrefois entre le micro-groupe familial et la macro-société, le primier reprenant, à son niveau,la structure hierarchique de la seconde, son organisation en rôles distincts et son système des valeurs. N'est-t-il pas étrange que la sociologie contemporaine soit plus discrète sur les relations entre ces deux instances dans les pays industriels? Problème redoutable, certes, que nous ne pouvons aborder ici que succinntement, mais qui est sans doute décisif en matière de politique familiale.

Il existe d'abord, peu explicitée théoriquemment mais largement diffusée dans l'opinion, une conception résolument optimiste de l'évolution de ces relations (10). Elle interprète la situation actuelle comme l'aboutissement d'une longue histoire durant laquelle la famille fut longtemps surchargée de fonctions diverses que l'Etat était encore incapable d'assumer. Le progrès aurait consisté dans le transfert progressif, vers la société, de ces fonctions accaparentes et perturbatrices. Du coup, le petit groupe familial s'est un peu déchargé, au cours des deux dernier siècles en particulier, de nombreux rôles qu'il avait assumés dans la société traditionnelle.

Le changement le plus important fut évidemment que la famille a cessé d'être une unité de production: la disparition de la coordination et de la solidarité qu'imposait cette fontion économique a profondément transformé la réalité quotidienne de la vie familiale. Mais là ne s'arrête pas le délestage: la transmission du savoir technique, l'assistance aux parents âgés, la prise en change des malades, l'arrangement du mariage des enfants, autant de fonctions qui n'incombent plus à la famille.

Ce transfert aurait provoqué deux conséquences complementaires. D'une part, l'allègement de charges urgentes et mobilisatrices aurait enfin permis au cuple et à la famille d'imaginer et de réaliser sa véritable finalité: cette d'établir un espace social fondé sur des relations vives, réciproques et gratifiantes,La famille aurait alors cessé d'être un moyen pour la société d'assurer sa survie et sa reproduction. Elle serait ainsi devenue le lieu privilégie où se fonde une relation qui trouve en elle-même sa propre fin (11)

D'autre part, la société est désormais pris directement en charge les fonctions qui présentent pour elle un intérêt

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(10) Le sociologue américan T. Parsons a donné une des expression les plus systèmatiques de cet optimisme.

(11) Il est bien clair que les sociétés archaïques ont toujours été étrangement méfiantes à l'égard d'une trop forte solidarité du groupe conjugal,comme si elle redoutaient un détournement au profit de cette instance étroite des investissements dus en priorité à la collectività.

essentiel et n'éprouve plus le besoin de contrôler aussi étroitement le fonctionnement de la famille. Assurée que se trouve la société de ne plus dépendre aussi étroitement des conjoints pour sa reproduction ou son expansion, elle abandonne plus volontiers la rigueur du contrôle strict qu'elle exerçait sur les comportements matrimoniaux: pour elle, comme pour les individus, le respect de l'institution, dans ce domaine, a cessé d'être une question de vie ou de mort.

Le divorce, par exemple, risque beaucoup moins de remettre en cause l'activité économique des conjoints, devenue salariés, et la transmission d'un patrimoine, devenu mobilier. Quant à la baisse de la fécondité, elle ne revêt pas le caractère catastrophique qu'elle aurait eu dans une population où la mortalité serait demeurée élevée et la productivité faible (12). La puissance des nations, économique ou militaire, tient moins aujourd'hui à l'effectif des populations qu'à l'avance des techniques; du moins la seconde peut-elle compenser dans une large mesure la première. Bref, qu'il s'agisse de liberté sexuelle prénuptiale ou de mode de vie conjugale, la "permissivité" actuelle semble liée à la progressive insignifiance des fonctions sociales de la famille. Le rôle de la famille semble devenu en grande partie ludique (13).

Cette hypothèse n'est pas irrecevable puisqu'elle fournit une explication plausible à la priorité accordée désormais par les conjoints aux valeurs intimistes et également à la relative indifférence des Etats vis-a-vis de la privatisation de la famille. Cette double compatibilité entre les faits observés et l'interprétation proposée ne suffit pourtant pas. Pour que cette thèse soit établie, il foudrait que l'explication qu'elle apporte soit la seule qui s'accorde avec les deux séries de données. Or tel n'est pas le cas.

Un autre interprétation au moins paraît tout aussi ajustée à l'évolution observé. Celle-ci ne cherche as l'origine du bouleversement actuel dans l'émergence d'une société suffisamment évoluée pour remplir les fonctions d'abord assumées par l'instance familiale Elle soutien plutôt que la société contemporaine dans son fonctionnement, sinon dans son idéologie, a progressivement évacué la plus grande partie des valeurs qui autrefois lui étaient communes avec le groupe familial. L'économie et la politique auraient ainsi éliminé minutieusement tout ce qui constituait un frein à l'accumulation du profit et à l'expansion de la puissance. Dans le monde économique, par exemple, individu serait ainsi réduit à être une pièce interchangeable de l'immense machinerie que seul gouverne le critère d'efficacité. Que l'on songe ici à la description

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(12) Il est vrai que certains Etats s'alarment lorsque la baisse de la fécondité tombe en dessous du seuil de renouvellement des générations. Mais cette inquiétude demeure rare et l'opinion ne considere généralement pas cette question comme urgente.

(13) Cette idée est développée dans l'allégorie de l'"île aux enfants" dans "le livre du rire et de l'oubli", de M.Kundera.

faite par Heidegger de nos sociétés technologiques, ou dans un registre tout différent, au remarquable synchronisme qu'Ariès observe entre l'exacerbation des relations familiales et la dissolution de toute sociabilité plus large.

Cette situation engendre spontanément violence, solitude et désespoir. Dès lors, comment ne pas comprendre que nos contemporains attendent de la vie familiale qu'elle soit, dans un monde désolé, un hâvre de chaleur et de sécurité? Qui d'autre que le conjoint ou l'enfant rassurera l'individu sur son identité et sa valeur singulière? Un immense reflux affectif s'est donc produit, d'une société mercantile et aride, vers un type de famille nouveau qui apparaît à beaucoup comme l'ultime et unique espace possible pour leur bonheur. C'est pourquoi beaucoup de nos contemporains estiment que toute leurs histoire authentique s'est réfugiée dans le monde clos de quelques visages aimés.

Ne soyons pas surpris que dance cette hypothèse aussi la société accorde à l'individu, étroitement administré par ailleurs, cette étroite plage de souveraineté en matière familiale. Cette compensation l'aidera à supporter la vacuité de reste de son existence et facilitera en définitive le contrôle social (14).

Ces deux interprétation sociologiques se rejoignent pour constater la dichotomie du monde contemporain, la rupture entre l'univers de la famille et celuis de la société. Mais elles donnent des significations tout à fait différentes de cette rupture. L'une y verrait volontiers la condition enfin réalisée d'une famille authentique. L'autre interprète plutôt les modèles matrimoniaux actuels comme le résultat pathologique d'un schisme.

Il n'appartient évidemment pas au démographe, à partir des données empiriques qu'il a collectées, de trancher entre ces deux conception. C'est là un choix où pèse décisive l'idée que chacun porte en soi du sens de la vie et de la signification de l'histoire, bref de sa philosophie ou de sa foi.

S'il nous a paru néanmoins indispensable de les présenter dans cette conclusion, c'est que leur prise en considération est un préalable indispensable à toute définition d'une politique familiale. Que l'on adopte l'une ou l'autre interprétation, il faudra convenir en effet que les transformations observées dans le mariage et la famille ne sont pas indépendantes des changements en profondeur de la société globale. Il n'est donc pas possible d'imaginer que les comportement et

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(14)Voir sur ce point en particulier M. Foucault, La volonté de savoir, Seuil, Paris, 1976.

les opinions actuels constituent seulement le moment précaire d'un mouvement oscillatoire régulier où s'exprime la stabilité à long terme de notre système matrimonial. Se contenter d'attendre un renversement quasi-mécanique de la tendence au cours de la nouvelle décennie serait donc illusoire.Ce que nous avons observé depuis 15 ans est trop profondément enraciné dans de changement plus vastes et plus décisifs. Nous ne savons pas, en vérité, si l'évolution prochaine consistera dans une stabilisation de la situation actuelle ou dans la poursuite des tendances récentes; mais l'hypothèse la moins probable est une restauration spontanée de ce qui,vers 1960, encore était considéré comme allant de soi.

Autre conclusion commune aux deux interprétation: une politique de la famille ne peut se contenter d'être un arsenal disparate de recetters; elle serait alors sans commune mesure avec l'ampleure du problème: as mesures exprimeraient simplement d'une manière désordonnée notre inquiétude devant une évolution aussi brusque et les alibis de notre bonne conscience. Bien plus, elle pourraient aller contre le but que l'on se propose. Il est bien clair en effet que les deux hypothèses présentées n'appellent pas la même politique. Estime-t-on fondée l'idée que la famille ne deviendra authentique que dans la mesure où elle sera de plus en plus déchargée par l'Etat de ses fonctions traditionnelles,il suffira, pour favoriser cette évolution, de multiplier les agences, les services sociaux, les instances de conseil. Le s difficultés actuelles ne son-elles pas en grande partie perçue comme une insuffisance de l'assistance de l'Etat?

Pense-t-on au contraire que la deuxième interpretation est plus près de la vérité,; on redoutera dans ce cas, d'aggraver la dépendance des conjoints par rapport à l'Etat et l'on tentera d'orienter la politique vers des mesures qui faciliteront l'autonomie de la famille, éclaireron ses choix et lui donneront les moyens de les réaliser. Surtout, dans cette perspective, on considèrera comme naïf de prétendre donner la famille une nouvelle dignité sans s'efforcer en même temps de transformer la société globale qui l'investit de toutes parts.Finalement, tous les changements d'indice qu'observe le démographe, tous les bouleversements d'opinions que révèlent les sondages sur la famille ne son que des épiphénomènes parmi d'autres du "malaise de la civilisation". Il n'est donc pas de politique familiale cohérente qui ne s'inscrive dans le projet plus vaste d'établir une cité véritablement fraternelle.

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Max WINGEN

Introductory communication

Die Notwendigkeit einer expliziten Familienpolitik wird heute in wachsendem Maße auch dort anerkannt, wo dies bisher kaum oder garnich der Fall war. Ein gutes Beispiel dafür bietet die jüngste Entwicklung in den Vereinigten Staaten wo übrigens in diesen Wochen drei regionale White House-Konferenzen durchgefürt werden. Deren Hauptziel ist es, darüber nachzudenken, wie die Familien gestärkt werden können. Charakteristisch für eine lange Zeit über ungenügende Beachtung der Lebensbedürfnisse and Interessen von Familien mit Kindern erscheint ein Resümee des Vizepräsidenten der Vereiningten Staaten, Mondale, aus dem Jahre 1977. W.F. Modanle, früherer Senator und Chairmann des Unterausschesses für Kinder und Jugend sowie coauthor des "Child and Family Services Act" von 1975, im Blick auf sein eigenes Land: Wit alle erkennen mehr und mehr, daß wir als Gesellschaft den tatsächlichen und spezifischen Budürfnissen der Familien zu wenig Aufmerksamkeit geschenkt haben. Wir müssen damit anfangen, die Auswirkungen des Wandels der geselischaftlichen Bedingungen auf das Familienleben zu untersuchen. "We need to begin shapping a society that doesn't just tolerate family life, or pretend to be neutral towards it. We need instead a spciety that nourisches it and helps it grow strong". Die meisten der selbstkritisch eingeräumten negativen. Auswirkungen staatlicher MaBnahmen auf das Familienleben seien freilich auf unüberlegte Weise zustande gekommen, nicht abisichlich, oft unbewauBt.

Gedankenlosigkeit und Unbedachtheit mag bei den vielfältigen die wirtschaftlichen und kulturellen Lebensgrundlagen von Familien und die Entwicklung von Kinder mitbestimmenden politischen MaBnahmen sicherlich nicht auszuschlieBen sein. Die Gründe für eine mangelnde Berücksichtigung von Belangen von Familien und Kinder in den verschiedenen gesellschaftlichen Handlungs-feldern reichen indessen tiefer: Hier wird ein strukturelles Ordnungsdefizit im sozialen Bereich sichtbar, wie es in Deutschland auch im Umfeld der Diskussion um neue Aspekte der im Grunde alten sozialen Frage deutlich angesprochen wird. Es ist zu fragen, inwieweit die Regelung des um den Gegensatz von Kapital und Arbeit rankenden konflikts in gewissem Sinne nicht zu einer Privilegierung tariffähiger Interessen geführt hat. Interessen, wie sie mit der Sicherung familialer Leistungen und elementarer Lebensbedürfnisse von Kinder wie auch mit der Uberwindung familialer Leistungsbehinderungen verbunden sind, erweisen sich demgegenüber kaum als tarifund konfliktfähig - es sei denn, man wollte den starken Geburtenrückgang in überspitzter Weise als "Geburtenstreil" der jungen Ehen interpretieren.

Für eine systematische and wirksame Familienpolitik erscheint nun ein Mehrfaches wichting:

- Ein eindeutiges Verständis des Begriffs Families un Familienpolitik;
- klare, ausreichend konkretisierte und in sich widerspruchsfreie Zielsetzungen in der Familienpolitik;
- ein zweckrationaler Mitteleinsatz, der angesichts des heute in vielen Länder erreichten wirtschaftlichen AusmaBes von familienpolitischen Leistungen gerade auch auf ökonomische Effizienz bedacht its;
- eine dauernde überprüfung der Wirksamkeit der getroffenen Mabnahmen, was eine Art "Selbstkontrolle" der Familienpolitik durch systematische Wirkungs-analysen erfordert;
- die Beachtung der wechselseitigen Abhängigkeiten der einzelnen Dimensionen und Mabnahmen der Familienpolitik wie auch der oft unbeabsichtigten Nebenwirkungen familienpolitischer Mabnahmen;
- eine Orientierung in Zielsetzung und Mitteleinsatz an übergreifenden gesamt-gesellschaftlichen Wertentscheidungen, was überall dort erforderlich ist, wo die Familienpolitik zu einem integrierten Teil einer bewuBt struktur-gestaltenden Gesellschaftspolitik werden soll.

Wo immer diese Anforderungen an eine Familienpolitik beachtet werden, kann auch von einer betont "rationalen" Familienpolitik gesprochen werden. Die genannten Kriterien werden bei der Erörterung der verschiedenen Dimensionen bzw. Aspekte von Familienpolitik jeweils zu berücksichtigen sein, also in den verschieden Handlungsfelder der Einkommens un sozialen Sicherungspolitik, der Beschäftigungs, Wohnungs und Gesundheitspolitik, der Erziehungs und Bildungspolitik, der Familienrechstspolitik, im Bereich der sozialen Dienste und nicht zuletzt in der politischen Auseinandersetzung mit der Stellung der Frau in Familie und Gesellschaft sowie deren Beeinflussung z.B. durch die Massenmedien.

Für alle diese Aspekte von Familienpolitik sind besondere Arbeitskreise vorgesehen, zu denen jeweils eine eigene kurze Ein-

führung gegeben wird. Diese Einführungen sollen dann in Verlauf des Symposiums in den jeweiligen Arbeitsgruppen diskutiert und vertieft werden. Die einzelnen Einführungen werden also im wesentlichen die Themen der Arbeitsgruppen abstecken. Daruf kann bei dieser allgemeinen Einführung verwiesen werden. Es ist zu hoffen daß für diese Beratungen zu den verschiedenen Aspekten einer Familienpolitik auch das allen Arbeitskreisen vorliegende Papier über Familienpolitik zusätzliche Anregungen gibt.

An dieser Stelle sei lediglich noch darauf hingewiesen, daß einte systematische Familienpolitik

1. die gesamte Breite der familialen Funktionserfüllung im Auge haben muß, also nicht nur die oft sehr betonte Sozialisationsfunktion, sondern z.B. auch die generative Funktion sowie die hauswirtschaftliche Funktion,

2. die unterschiedlichen Formen von Familie mit ihren spzifischen Bedürfnissen sehen muß, es gibt nicht die Familie, neben de vollständigen gewinnen zunehmend die unvollständigen Familien (Einelternteil-Familien) Bedeutung. Wieder anders gelagert sind die Probleme in jungen Familien und demgegenüber in älteren Familien, wieder anders in Familien mit behinderten Angehörigen sowie in Familien ausländischer Arbeitnehmer, die in einigen europäischen Ländern zahlenmäßig relativ großes Gewicht haben und im Verlauf der 80er Jahre vielleicht noch mehr erhalten werden.

Familienpolitik in hochindustrialisierten Gesellschaften, auch eine stärker phasenund adressatenspezifische Ausdifferenzierung der Familienpolitik wie im Zusammenhang damit deren auch demographische Akzentuierung, wird insgesamt zu einer zukunftsweisenden Aufgabe, deren Lösung ein hohes Maß an Engagement aller Beteiligten erfordert. Das gilt nicht nur für ein grundwerteorientiertes praktisch-politisches Handeln, sondern ebenso - auf der Grundlage möglichst interdisziplinäre sozialwissen-schaftlicher Forschung - für die wissen-schaftliche Befassung mit diesem familienpolitischen Handeln. Das gilt aber auch für die Befähigung der Familien, die sie betreffende Politik in noch stärkerem Mabe mitzugestalten. Eine echte "Parizipation" der Familien zu gewährleisten und durch geeignete Mabnahmen ermöglichen, erweist sich als eine kaum minder wichtige Aufgabe einer umfassenden Familienpolitik in einem demokraischen Gemeinwesen.

Claudine HODGENS

Travail et Famille

"Travail et famille" est-il écrit dans le programme de langue française, "Family and employment policies" (Politiques de l'emploi et famille) dit le programme anglais. Ce n'est évidemment pas le même chose, mais on peut néanmoins traiter les deux thèmes à la fois puisque, d'une part, la politique de l'emploi détermine en grande partie les conditions du marché du travail et que, d'autre part, les situations, voire les aspitarions de ceux qui travaillent ou veulent travailler, se reflètent - à plus ou moins longue échéance - dans les politiques appliquées en matière d'emploi, ou du moins serait-il souhaitable qu'il en soit ainsi.

Quelques faits doivent être rappelés avant d'entrer dans le vif du sujet: ils affectent la famille, et le travail, et la politique de l'emploi.

Ce sont les changements de mode de vie familial:

. la famille élargie disparaît de plus en plus,
. à l'autre extrême, la famille monoparentale (famille à un seul parent, le plus souvent une femme, mais parfois un homme) ne constitue par un fait isolé, aux situations créées par un décès s'ajousent celle engendriées par l'accroissement du nombre des

divorces et du nombre des parents ayant fait le choix dili béré diversés cilibataire. En France, une famille sur dix est mono-parentale.

. les femmes veulent de plus en plus participer au monde du travail (dans une brochure récemment publié par l'OIT on a pu lire que les experts estiment qu'en 1985 dans le monde la participation des femmes à la main-d'oeuvre globale sera de environ 40%, elle était de 28% en 1975; en Europe occidentale le taux d'activité des femmes avoisine presque partout 45%, en Suède il est de 70%)
. les rôles et le comportements des hommes dans la famille se modifient, les hommes s'intéressent plus que naguère à l'éducation et aux soins des enfants, les membres du couple se partagent les responsabilités familiales et, en matière de sécurité sociale, on à même vu reconnaître la notion de "père au foyer".

Ce changement de société est notoire dans tous les pays. Certains problème ont déjà été évoqués ce matin, d'autres le seront nécessairement par les orateurs qui me suivront, notamment lorsque sera traité le théme "Les femmes et la famille".

On ne peut parler de la politique de l'emploi sans parler de la réalisation du plein emploi, ou du moins d'un niveau de emploi aussi stable et élevé que possible. A ce titre, l'em - ploi représente une préoccupation majeure pour les families . Le chômage perturbe gravement la vie économique de la famille et il déséquilibre le plus souvent très profondément le chômeur et ses proches.

Aussi, toute mesure de lutte contre le chômage est-elle utile à la famille. Il peut cependant exister des contradictions. Certaines circostances structurelles ou conjocturelles nécessitent l'encourragement à une certaine mobilité géographique: les jeunes sont obligés de chercher un emploi loin du lieu de résidence de leurs parents, les adultes se voient contraints de changer de lieu de travail à la suite de restructurations, fusions, décentralisations. De tels déplacements engendrent des changements importants pour toute la famille: séparation entre les générations, problème de logement, d'emploi du conjoint, d'éducation des enfants.... Cette observation se applique aussi à la situation des millions de travailleurs qui, pour trouver un emploi, ont choisi de s'expatrier. Ces travailleurs, les travailleurs migrante, ont droit à une vie familiale normale et toute mesures pour faciliter le regroupement familiale, l'insertion scolaire des enfants etc., doivent être prises.

Un autre élément capital doit être l'élimination de toute discrimination basée sur la situation familiale ou l'état matrimonial.

Pour les hommes, de telles discriminations sont rares (pour des misssions dangereuses on peut voir préférer un célibataire sans charge de famille à un veuf avec enfants) ou, lorsqu'elles existent en pratique, elles sont en leur faveur: la situation de famille est parfois un critère pris en considération dans le choix des travailleurs devant être atteints par une mesure de

réduction de personnel.

Les discriminations à l'encontre des femmes sont plus fréquentes. Ce n'est que récemment que quelques Etats européens ont abrogé des textes qui exigeaient que les femmes démissionnent de leurs fonctions - dans l'enseignement par example - au jour de leur mariage. En pratique, les employeurs éviteront parfois d'embaucher une mère de famille ou une femme susceptible d'être enceinte.

Il est vrai que divers traités internationaux, dont la Charte sociale européenne, interdisent ce genre de discrimination. Il n'en est pas moins vrai qu'en cette matière la pratique n'est pas toujours en conformité avec les engagements pris.

A un autre niveau, il faut envisager les mesures qui sont prises dans le cadre général des mesures destinées à améliorer la qualité de la vie et plus particulièrement les conditions de travail.

Nombre d'entre elles peuvent faciliter l'exrcice combiné d'une vie professionnelle normale et d'une vie familiale satisfaisante. Les conditions rencontrées dans la vie professionnelle ont une influence sur les conditions dans lesquelles grandissent les enfants et, en Europe comme ailleurs, les gouvernements perçoivent de plus en plus les problèmes auxquels sont confrontés les travailleurs ayant des responsabilités familiales. De plus, ils ont la volonté de leur donner des solutions dans le cadre de lapolitique sociale et de la politique de l'emploi. Ces solutions varient cependant fortement selon les ressource disponibles, des attitudes qui prévalent et de la nécessité ou non de donner une priorité à la satisfaction d'autres besoins. Mais il faut aussi se demander si les bénéficiaires des nouvelles mesures utilisent vraiment le temps progressivement mis à leur disposition dans un sens plus favorable à la famille. Toute une éducation est à faire.

Parmi les mesures présentant des avantages particuliers pour la famille, il y a celles qui visent:

. la réduction progressive de la durée du travail
. l'introduction de plus de souplesse dans les horaires de travail et les congés.

Le thème de la réduction de la durée du travail est délicat et controversé. On s'interroge sur la forme la plus souhaitable de cette réduction: par jour, par semaine, ou sous la forme de congés plus longs. Dans l'ensemble, il apparaît que la réduction de la durée journalière profiterait le plus à la famille, les autres formules incitant trop souvent les travailleurs à s'engager dans un deuxième emploi - 1 sur 4 pense-t-on en France, beaucoup plus en Italie me dit-on. Dès lors, l'effet est contreproductif: encore plus de fatigue.

Quelques pays du Nord de l'Europe accordent des réductions spécifiques aux parents de jeunes enfants. Ainsi, en Suède, les parents de jeunes enfants peuvent réduire leur durée quotidienne de travail de 8 à 6 heures, avec réduction correspondante de

leur salaire.

Les formules visant à rendre les horaire de travail plus flexible: horaires mobiles, horaires souples, horaires à la carte - qui font l'objet de négociation collective - permettent avec plus de sûreté aux travailleurs et travailleuses de répartir plus librement leur temps entre leurs responsabilités familiales et leur activité professionnelle. Les individus peuvent mieux organiser leur vie. Cela se fait en fonction du cadre de vie, des habitudes alimentaires, des horaires de certains établissements - heures d'ouverture des écoles notamment - et on ne peut déceler un modèle uniforme. On peut cependant relever que lorsque des systèmes souples sont introduits la grande majorité des femmes a tendance à venir au travail tôt et s'efforèent de la quitter dès la fin de la plage size, alors que les hommes arrivent tard et restent la soir. Voilà qui tendrait à prouver qu'un partage entre les tâches familiales se fait: les hommes conduisant les enfants à l'école le matin, les femmes s'occupant du foyer le soir. Mais le déséquilibre est encore grand.

Il faut ajouter que si des améliorations sont possible grâce au recours accru aux horaires flexibles, des harmonisations autres que celle qui affectent directement et en premier lieu les employeurs et les travailleurs sont possible, notamment des actions sur les horaires scolaires et les mesures de garde dans les établissements scolaires.

A l'extrême, on peut assimiler à ces mesures le travail à temps partiel et le partage des postes de travail qui concilient à la fois l'idée de réduction du temps global de travail et la possibilité d'horaires flexible. Il s'agit de formules surtout préconisée dans les pays du Nord de l'Europe où l'on ne craint pas de voir une diminution des chances de promotion, une charge de travail exigée plus grande, une réduction des avantages accordés. Cette énumération bien incomplète des problèmes qui se posent montre que le travail à temps partiel et le partage des postes de travail ont des implications multiples qui font que les experts hésitent à les proposer. Il faut un context favorable. La proportion des personnes travaillant à temps partiel par rapport à l'ensamble de la population active va du 25% en Suède à 6,5% en France en passant par 18% au Royanne Uni, 9% en Republique Fédéral d'Allemagne. Mais ces chiffres sont sujets à caution, en raison notamment des divergences, de definition du temps partiel et des difficultés de savoir s'il s'agit de temps partiel volontaire ou de temps partiel pour des raisons.

On entend parfois dire que le travail à domicile permet mieux de s'occuper d'une famille que celui qui implique des trajets et l'absence du foyer pendant huit heures et davantage. L'étude des situations à cet égard m'incite à dire qu'il existe un grave danger d'exploitation des travailleurs engagés dans cette formes de travail. Il peut certes représenter une solution dans certaines regions où l'habitat est très dispersé et s'il s'exerce dans des conditions strictement réglementées et contrôlées. Mais, en règle générale, même dans les pays qui disposent de bons services d'inspection du travail, le travail à domicile tel qu'il est con

çu actuellement (il en sera différemment le jour où les bureaux seront vides et où chacun travaillera chez soi devant un terminal d'ordinateur) contient en germe un danger d'exploitation. En effet, pour maintenir le volume de production imposé, ou qu'ils se fixent eux-mêmes, les travailleurs concernés sont souvent, amenés à fournir de nombreuses heures de travail et même à demander le concours d'autres membres de la famille, y compris parfois leurs enfants. C'est pourquoi ici encore, il faut exprimer des réserves vis-à-vis d'une formule qui peut paraître attrayante.

Une place spéciale doit être faite aux congés accordés à l'occasion d'une naissance, ou congés de maternité. La Charte sociale européenne demande que les femmes puissent bénéficier de 12 semaines de repos et demande que les Parties contractantes considèrent comme illégal pour un employeur de signifier son licenciement à une femme durant l'absence en congé de maternité ou à une date telle que le délai de préavis expire durant cette absence.

Cette dernière stipulation est généralement respectée mais des catégories limitées de travailleuses y échappent. Quant à la première - la durée des congés - il faut distinguer entre la partie du congé lié à la grossesse et aux couches et le congé postnatal subséquent. On constate que dans de nombreux pays la durée totale des congés accordés à l'occasion d'une maternité est plus longue, mais les efforts semblent avoir surtout porté sur l'allongement du congé postnatal que, de plus en plus peut être pris par le père ou la mère. En outre, un peu partout on accorde, ou on envisage d'accorder, des congés supplementaires, tantôt indemnisés tantôt non indemnisés.

Ainsi, en République Fédéral d'Allemagne, à l'issue des 8 semaines de congé postnatal, la mère peut encore prendre un congé de 4 moins en partie rémunéré par les pouvoirs publics. En Italie, 5 mois rémunerés à 1'80%, sont suivis de 6 mois rémunées a 30%, qui peuvent encore être suivis d'un congé non remuneré. En Suède, à partir du 1er juillet de cette année, le congé - pouvant être indifféremment pris par le père ou la mère - sera porté à 12 mois. Durant les 9 premiers mois, celui des parents qui prend le congé perçoit 90% de son salaire, les 3 derniers mois sont indemnisés au taux minimum de la sécurité sociale (de l'ordre de 37 FF/jour). Il est aussi intéressant de noter que tous ces congés ne doivent pas forcement être pris durant la première année de l'enfant. En effet, seuls les 6 premiers mois doivent être pris de suite. Les autres 6 mois peuvent être répartis en plusieurs tranches et reportés à plus tard. Ils doivent toutefois être pris avant que l'enfant n'atteigne l'âge de 8 ans. L'évolution vers de telles formules est certaine, mais le problème de l'indemnisation est difficile à résoudre. On ne peut continuer à faire subir des charges aux employeurs et partout se pose le problème du financement de la sécurité sociale qui ne peut plus répondre à tous les besoins.

Pour ce qui est du congé prénatal, par contre, il me semble que les connaissances sur la vie de la femme enceinte au travail présenten des lacunes et que les études pour mettre en évidence l'influence

des conditions de travail sur la grossesse et la naissance sont encore nécessaires. Les mutations et adaptations de postes paraissent bien peu nombreuses. Il semble aussi que si on leur en laisse la possibilité, les femmes aient tendance à sacrifier le repos prénatal pour mieux faire face aux multiple problèmes qui se posent dans la phase postnatale.

Dans le même ordre l'idée que ces congés, il faut citer l'octroi - de plus en plus souvent prévu dans les conventions collectives - d'autorisation d'absence - rémunérée ou non - en cas de maladie d'un enfant ou d'un proche parent. La législation suedoise est particulièrment audacieuse à cet égard. En 1979 l'un ou l'autre parent d'un enfant de moins de 11 ans malade avent droit par années à 12 jours de congé rémunéré à 90%, 15 jours s'il y avait 2 enfants. De nouvelle dispositions sont encore plus généreuses.

Il s'agit-là d'une série de mesures liées aux problèmes de garde des enfants en liaison avec la pénurie quasi généralisée des services collectifs.

J'espère que nous pourrons approfondir en commun l'étude des questions que j'ai rapidement évoquées. D'autre viendront s'y ajouter je n'en doute pas. Je aouhaiterai par exemple que l'on parlât des rapports entre les générations et des effets des systèmes de retraite à la carte sur les relations avec les petits enfants.Ou encore de l'xistence ou non d'une relation entre les taux de natalité et l'emploi des femmes.

Pourquoi avoir demandé à un fonctionnaire du Conseil de l'Europe de vous parler du Travail et de la famille? Peut-être parce qu'il s'agit de l'Organisation la plus large de l'Europe occidentale, l'organisation où sont nées la Convention européenne des Droits de l'Homme, qui garantit les droits civils et politiques, et la Charte sociale européenne, qui garantit les droits économiques et sociaux; la Charte dont un article consacre le droit de la famille à une protection sociale, juridique et économique qui se lit comme suit: "en vue de réaliser les conditions de vie indispensables au plein épanouissement de la famille, cellule fondamentale de la société, les Parties contractantes - ce jour 13 Etats d'Europe occidentale - s'engagent à promouvoir la protection économique, juridique et sociale de la vie de famille, notamment par le moyen de prestation sociales et familiales, de dispositions fiscales, d'aide aux jeunes foyers..." Peut-être parce que le Secrétariat du Conseil de l'Europe assure le Secrétariat de la Conférence des Ministres européens chargés des Affaires familiales. Ces Ministres, qui se réuniront l'an prochain sur le thème "Temps pour le travail, temps pour la famille", ont tout récemment à Athènes, où ils avaient échangé leurs vues sur les moyens de réaliser légalité des chances des enfants, souligné la nécessité d'introduire la dimension familiale dans tous les domaines politiques.

Nous réfléchirons donc en commission sur les moyens de donner une dimension familiale à la politique de l'emploi.

Albert DELPEREE

La reforme des systèmes de sécurité sociale dans une perspective familiale

INTRODUCTION

La présent exposé est bâti sur la structure suivante:

. dans une première partie, je tenterai de préciser l'essentiel des deux notions en cause: celle de sécurité sociale et celle de famille;
. dans une deuxième partie, j'essayerai de répondre au thème de l'exercice en m'efforçant de dégager quelques idées-force susceptible d'influencer l'évolution inéluctable.

Certains s'étonneront - à juste titre - de ne trouver dans notre document aucune définition de sécurité sociale. Je crois utile de donner la réponse justificative: les institutions telles que le B.I.T. et la C.E.E. ont en quelque sorte défini la sécurité sociale en énumérant les risques couverts. De plus, les systèmes actuels - même dans une zone relativement homogène comme celle constituée par les Etats membres de la C.E.E. - s'inspirent de la notion d'assurance ou de la notion d'assistance; ils présentent donc des caractéristiques différentes et par conséquent les données fournies concernant les systèmes nationaux doivent être interprétées avec beaucoup de nuances: le modèle unitaire ne peut être confondu avec le modèle professionnel. Tels sont les principaux facteurs qui justifient le vague de la notion et l'absence de définition de la sécurité sociale.

De même, il n'est pas question de confondre les familles rurales et les familles urbaines, celles des pays développés et celles des pays en voie de développement. Il n'est cependant pas question de privilégier telle ou telle forme de familles. Les sociétés occidentales sont pluralistes. Il se agit de partir des faits, même si j'ai rejeté d'amblée les structures qui sont éphémères, de les examiner en tant que sociologue et aussi en tant qu'homme politique condamné à des compromis que le moraliste peut être amené à ne pas accepter.

Je pense qu'il était utile de fournir ces précisisions dans l'espoir d'éviter toute ambiguité ou des réactions inappropriées.

PREMIER PARTIE

Les notions en cause: sécurité sociale et famille

Nous traiterons d'abord de la sécurité sociale don la réforme est envisagée dans divers pays en raison de l'ampleur des problèmes financiers qu'elle connaît.

Nous traiterons ensuite de la famille dont les structures et les fonctions sont en évolution prodonde.

1. L'indispensable réforme de la sécurité sociale

La sécurité sociale est devenue, au cours des trente dernières années, le système de protection sociale le plus développé tout au moins dans nos pays d'Europa occidentale. C'est un produit de la société industrielle.

Son développement s'est manifesté par l'élargissement du champ d'application personnel et par l'extension de son champ d'application matériel.

Cette évolution a été favorisée par les travaux ou par les politiques des institutions internationales parmi lesquelles il nous faut citer dans l'ordre chronologique:

. le Bureau International du Travail,
. l'Organisation Européenne de Coopération et de développement,
. le Conseil de l'Europe,
. la Communauté Economique Européenne (1).

Cette évolution s'est traduite en flux monétaires par une augmentation soit des charges sociales incombant aux entreprises, soit des charges nouvelles pesant sur les finances publiques des Etats; cette progressivité a soulevé des problèmes financiers qui présentent aujourd'hui une réelle accuité.

Le phénomène est général. Il était prévu.

En effet, les études et recherches entreprises depuis plus de vingt ans avaient mis en relief certains facteurs générateurs de difficultés financières à moyen ou à long terme:

. l'évolution des structures se manifeste au niveau des branches, par example dans le secteur soins de santé: croissance du volume des prestations médicales techniques, progression des dépenses hospitalières.

L'influence de ces causes est devenue plus apparente aujourd'hui car elle se combine avec les conséquences de cinq chocs concernant lesquels les moyens d'action et de réaction nous échappent quasi entièrement. Il s'agit:

. de la diminution de la croissance en Europe occidentale , mais encore dans les pays communistes du Comecon;
. du choc pétrolier qui s'est manifesté depuis 1974 et dont les manifestations récentes vont se répercuter en 1980;
. l'aggravation de l'inflation qui déséquilibre les budgets publics et se traduit dans le relèvement du taux d'inérêt et du prix de l'or;
. la concurrence croissante des nouveaux pays industriels dans certains secteurs traditionnels contraints à se restructurer;
. l'aggravation du chômage lequel résulte en partie de l'évolution des problèmes précédente (2).

Cette évolution se traduit de la façon suivante, tout au moins pour les Etats-membres de la C.E.E. :

. les dépenses sociales, à prix constants, se sont accrues de motié ou plus dans la période 1970-1976;
. le volume des transferts sociaux atteint de tels niveaux que la société occidentales commencent à douter de leur capacité à assumer de telles charges (3).

La préoccupation dominante est devenue, dans l'immediat,le rétablissement de l'équilibre financier. La recherche des solutions s'opère dans un contexte socio-économique difficile et conduit à poser le problème de la réforme du système de la sécurité sociale, dans la perspective de la politique sociale future ou tout au moins de la protection sociale globale. Il ne faut pas oublier,en effet, que les autres moyens de protection qu'ils soient individuels (épargne, assurance privée, etc.) ou collectifs (assistance publique, etc) ont continué à subsister et même à des développer.

2. L'approche de la réforme: le Social unit à l'Economique et au Culturel

La réforme de la sécurité sociale peut être abordée dans les pays d'Europe occidentale selon deux approches:soit l'approche empirique, soit l'approche où le Social se combine avec l'Economique et le Culturel.

L'approche empirique nous a valu des systèmes complexes, mouvants, traversés de courants contradictoires; elle est responsable de l'évolution tourmentée des systèmes nationaux de sécurité sociale; elle a favorisé la confusion entre le vrai progrès social et les libéralités électorales dont se contenent facilement les pouvoirs publics, elle explique la médiocrité des objectifs réels et l'inefficacité relative des moyens énormes qu'elle met en oeuvre.

Le present rapport résulte de l'approche qui unit à la fois le Social, l'Economique et le Culturel. Les liaisons entre l'Economique et le Social sont bien connues. En résumé, on peut dire que l'évolution économique a fait naître le Social, a favorisé son élargissement; mais les solution sociales réagissent à leur tour sur l'Economiques. Elles réagissent notamment par leur coût qui se traduit en charges sociales pour les entreprises et en dépenses à finalité sociale pour les pouvoirs publics. Les entreprises et les pouvoirs publics acceptent ce coût aussi longtemps qu'elles peuvent le supporter, aussi longtemps que les premièrs sont en bénéfices, aussi longtemps que les deuxièmes sont en équilibre financier. Autrement did, la sécurité sociale qui est aujourd'hui le volet le plus important de la politique sociale a des limites qui sont d'ordre économique et psychologique, ces limites psychologiques, résultant de la laison nouvelle entre le Social et le Culturel. Ces limites sont évidemment variables selon l'impact de la démographie, de la croissance économique, de l'évolution des besoins, des changements des valeurs culturelles.

En présence de certaines inégalités qui subsistent, qui sont inacceptables dans notre conception actuelle de la "qualité de la vie", des choix s'imposent, des priorités nouvelles doivent se dégager par delà les confrontations des intérêts des groupes.

3. Les éléments qui conditionnent la réforme

Parmi les élément qui doivent être pris en considération et qui sont appelés à conditionner la réforme de la sécurité sociale, nous retiendrons:

. la conception nouvelle de la sécurité sociale: centrés au départ sur l'indemnisation des risques, elle se préoccupe actuellement de la prévention des risques;
d'ou trois orientations actuelles:

- la prévention des accidents du travail et des maladies professionnelles.
- la politique de l'emploi;
- la politique de santé

. la progression de l'emploi féminin: cette évolution à été encouragés pendant les "golden sixties" par les entreprises et les syndicats, par les homme également (soucieux

d'augmenter les revenus du ménage) et par les femmes désidereu ses d'acquérir un noveau statut social au départ de leur activité professionnelle. Dans ce domaine, il n'est plus question de faire marche arrière, même si des problèmes subsistent, notamment la conciliation de l'activité professionnelle avec les activités familiales et sociales.

- la progression du chômage féminin: depuis cinq ans, ce chômage est en sensible augmentation et résulte de divers facteurs:
  . l'accroissement de la main-d'oeuvre féminine disponibile
  . la non-organisation de la production en fonction de l'emploi féminin
  . la non-adaptation de la main-d'oeuvre féminine aux métamorphose et aux mutation de l'emploi salarié
  . dans certains pays, la non-adaptation d'une réglementation de l'assurance-chômage dans laquelle s'installent certaines entreprises et certaines catégories de personnes.

- le changement des données économiques: dans plusieurs pays,le secteur "tertiaire" occupe plus de 50 % des effectifs des travailleurs salariés et indépendants. Même dans les pays où l'Idéologie libérale est dominante, le secteur public occupe une part croissante de la population salariée avec les conséquences que l'on devine sur la formation du P.N.B. et sur les secteurs bénéficiaires: l'éducation et la santé. Cette évolution traduit peut-être déjà la mise en place d'un nouveau modèle de développement?

- le déclin de la démographie: ce phénomène se manifeste dans tous les pays d'Europe occidentale; la baisse de lanatalité favorise le viesillissement de la population et provoque une dégradation du rapport entreles cotisants et les bénéficiaires de la sécurité sociale.

- le changement des données culturelles: notre époque entraîne des changements profonds dans la hiérachie des besoins sociaux une montée de la valeur "loisirs" au détriment de la valeur travail , le développement des aspirations féminines et de souci d'égalité entre les hommes et les femmes, l'évolution de la famille dont le modèle était inspité de la famille bourgeoise.

En bref, la sécurité sociale doit s'adapter aux nouvelles conditions sociales, économiques et culturelles. Elle doit répondre aux besoins réels des hommes et des familles de demain.

Il n'est pas question d'entreprendre dans cet exercice une réflexion d'ensemble. Notre ambition est de réunir quelques élèments susceptibles de favoriser l'évolution de la sécurité sociale compte tenu des besoins familiaux. Pour ce faire, nous envisageons d'abord le concept actuel de lafamille avant d'aborder le problème d'unesécurité sociale réformé dans une perspective familiale.

4. L'évolution de la famille européenne

La famille, l'école, l'église, l'entreprise et la commune sont

les communautés de base dans les quelles se sont développées, le plus aisément, pendant des années, voire des siècles, soit diverses formes de solidarité humaine, soit divers processus de socialisation des individus.

Toutes ces communautés de base sont, depuis un certain temps mises en question, au moment où elles subissent des modifications profondes de leurs structures.

Il est devenu banal de signaler que la famille moderne est plus rétrécie que la famille traditionnelle (le nombre des familles nombreuses ne cesse de diminuer) et que les rapports entre époux de entre parents et enfants sont plus libres.

L'évolution actuelle de la structure familiale présente deux caractéristiques essentielles: accroissement de l'instabilité familiale, affaiblissement de la solidarité familiale reprise en partie par la sécurité sociale et par la politique familiale.

Les fonctions de la famille se sont modifiées: à certaines fonctions traditionnelles mises en veilleuse, il faut joindre des fonctions nouvelles liées au développement socio-culturel (éducation, loisirs, etc.) Mais ces fonctions relèvent rarement du domaine exclusif de la famille: leur exercice réclame souvent des infrastructures et des moyens qui relèvent des pouvoirs publics ou d'organisations parafamiliales. Le groupe familial est beaucoup plus dépendant de la société.

La famille subit de la sorte les influences des mutations sociales engendrées par la vie économique. Elle est de plus en interaction permanente avec les autres institutions sociales s'occupant du logement, des revenus de remplacement, etc. La famille reste néanmoins considérés comme l'unité de vie sociale de base.

Que déduire de cette analyse très brève?

5. Les nouvelles familles

Une idéologie très proche de la famille patriarcale remaine ou du modèle familial inspiré de la famille bourgeoise centrée sur son chef paraît soit dépassée, soit insuffisante pour caractériser tout le système familial contemporain.

Il faut admettre l'existence de structure familiales différentes: je pense par exemple à la mère célibataire qui constitue avec son enfant un type de famille; il y a aussi les familles incomplètes résultant du divorce ou de la mort d'un des époux. Faut-il y joindre les ménages de fait dont l'existence est reconnue par plusieurs législations et plus précisément par le droit de la sécurité sociale et par le droit fiscal? Dans certains pays, de tels ménages sont même parfois favorisés par rapport aux familles légitimes.

S'il n'y a plus un seul modèle familial, il faut affirmer que

la politique familiale doit être faite en fonction du modèle dominant, tout en montrant assez de souplesse pour régler les situations nouvelles, souvent marginales. Nous refusons donc de suivre ceux qui veulent transformer ces situations marginales en modèles généraux, normaux, exemplaires. Ces remarques nous contraignent à définir la famille.

Nous croyons pouvoir dire que "la famille moderne est l'association d'un homme et d'une femme qui ont décidé de vivre ensemble, de mettre en commun leurs ressources affectives et materielles, d'avoir des enfants qu'ils élèveront ensemble".

Cette définition de la famille ne fait pas référence au mariage; Elle convient donc à la famille légale et à la famille de fait, la première se distinguant de la deuxième par la consécration publique, souvent par la consécration religieuse.

Le mariage consacre la valeur de l'engagement et de la permanence; il consacre le fait d'expérience qu'au delà de l'union de l'homme et de la femme, il y a l'éventualité normale de la venue des enfants.

La stabilité de couple sera renforcée dans la mesure où se réalisera une vraie égalité entre l'homme et la femme.

Cette idée d'égalite domine aujourd'hui la vie sociale dans de nombreau pays; elle triomphe au sein du Conseil de l'Europe et au sein des Nations Unies. Elle condamne toute discrimination tant entre l'homme et la femme, qu'entre ceux qui sont mariés et ceux qui ne sont pas des époux, qu'entre les enfants nés dans des familles légitimes et les enfants nés hors mariage.

Ce principe d'égalité ne peut être ignoré. Il est même parfaitement admissible dans la mesure où il ne met pas en cause un autre principe: celui de la protection de la famille . Mais il met en cause les systèmes actuels de la sécurité sociales. Ces aspect fait l'objet des développements ultérieurs.

DEUXIEME PARTIE

Quelques lignes de force pour une reforme

Les systèmes nationaux de sécurité sociale conçus dans l'après-guerre répondaient généralement à des préoccupations familiales inspirées du modèle familial traditionnel. Il en fut de même au niveau des institutions internationales.

Faut-il rappeler à ce sujet:

- que la conventin n. 102 du B.I.T. prévoyait des indemnités en cas de grossesse, de prestations familiales, des pensions de ménage, des pensions de survie, ecc.;

- que la notion de chef de famille se retrouvait à la base de plusieurs législations et entraînait l'octroi de prestations d'un montant plus élevé;

- que le montant des prestations accordé était pratiquement fixé pour un travailleur ayant a se charge une femme et deux enfants;

- que les prestations familiales sont prévues pour les travailleurs actifs, mais encore pour les assurés sociaux tels que les chômeurs, les malades , les pensionnées.

Depuis plusieurs années déjà, des initiatives nationales et internationales se sont préoccupées d'assurer l'égalité des prestations pour les hommes et pour les femmes.

L'extension de l'emploi féminin a soulevé d'autres problèmes tels que la reconnaissance de la valeur éducative de la mère occupée à son foyer.

La sécurité sociale a été aussi amenée à assurer la protection de la femme séparée de fait, de la femme divorcée, de la mère divorcée, de la femme veuve, de la mère veuve, de la mère célibataire.

A l'heure actuelle, c'est la place du travail à temps partiel dans la sécurité sociale qui fait problème dans certains pays.

Si l'évolution est en cours, de nombreuses difficultés subsistent. C'est pourquoi des réformes s'imposent.

1. Un statut personnel pour toutes les femmes

Le problème a perdu de son importance en raison de l'extension de l'emploi féminin dans la plupart des pays d'Europe occidentale. Un nombre toujours plus grand de jeunes femmes bénéficient des dispositions réglementaires lesquelles ont été modifiées pour appliquer des critères d'emploi (plafonds, taux de cotisations, etc.) qui assurent l'égalité entre les homme et les femmes.

Néanmoins, des discriminations perdurent entre les hommes et les femmes, mais parfois entre les femmes elles-mêmes. Il n'est pas question de faire ici un relevé exhaustif de ces discriminations, mais nous en citerons quelques unes à titre d'exemples:

- pourquoi, dans certains pays, la notion de "chef de ménage"est -elle limitée aux hommes mariés? Ne faut-il pas la supprimer ou bien ne faut-il pas élargir cette notion? En fait, certaines femmes ne sont-elles pas chefs de ménage?
- pourquoi, dans certains pays, la femme célibataire et mère de famille n'est-elle pas assimilée à l'épouse abandonnée par son conjoint?
- pourquoi, dans certains pays, la femme doit-elle bénéficier de dérogations pour être attributaire de prestations familiales?

Si l'emploi féminin s'étend, il reste néanmoins un porcentage important de femmes qui décident d'exercer définitivement des tâches familiales et éducatives. Pour ces femmes, il convient d'établir un statut personnel de sécurité sociale, regroupant le cas échéant les périodes d'activité professionnelle et celles consacrées aux tâches familiales.

2. Les prestations de sécurité sociale et la politique des revenus

Dans ce rapport limité à la sécurité sociale, il n'est pas question de traiter de l'ensemble de la politique familiale. Il est clair que cette politique doit aussi résulter:

- de mesures fiscales, notamment de mesures en matière de décumul des revenus professionnels des époux, mesures qui n'oublient pas les dégrèvements en faveur des familles ayant charge d'enfants;
- de mesures d'accueil, telles que la création et l'extention du nombre de minicrèches, gardiennes privées, services de garde d'enfants malades, structures d'accueil des enfants en période de congé scolaire, etc.

Ces mesures fiscales et sociales peuvent d'ailleurs être complétées par d'autres politiques: Celle de l'urbanisme et du logement, celle des équipements, celle de l'organisation du travail professionnel, celle des transports, celle de la formation et des loisirs pour ne prendre que des exemples. Ces politiques peuvent jouer un rôle plus important que la sécurité sociale même dans l'acceptation d'un deuxième enfant.

Dans le cadre de cet exercice, les problèmes des rémunérations et celui des prestations de sécurité sociale constituent des éléments majeurs et complémentaires.

C'est un moyen d'assurer la liberté de la femme que de reconnaître la valeur économique du travail ménager. Ne convient-il pas de songer de mettre fin à cette inégalité fondamentale qui laisse sans rémunération les activités exercées dans le cadre de l'économie domestique. San soute, beaucoup de ces activités non marchandes sont devenues salariées. Il n'en reste pas moins que les tâches ménagères restent ignorées des économistes et des politiques créant ainsi des inégalités entre ménages à un revenu et ménages à double revenu (4).

Mais il faut encore aller plus loin: il faut aussi assurer la égalité - une égalité minimum - entre les familles en egissant sur le niveau de vie: le minimum social familial est un moyen à utiliser.

Si les rémunérations échappent souvent au domaine direct de compétence des pouvoirs public, il n'en est pas de même pour les prestations de sécurité sociales. L'intervention financière des pouvoirs publics est très variable selon les régimes et selon les braches. Des initiatives peuvent être prises dans le secteurs

des prestations familiales et même dans les autres branches.

Parmi ces initiatives, nous mettrons en relief les quatre points suivants:

1. La compensation des charges familiales devrait s'organiser à partir du coût familial de l'enfant, c'est-à-dire des frais d'entretien et d'éducation de tous les enfants, quelle que soit la catégorie socio-professionnelle à laquelle appartiennent les parents. Cette compensation devrait donc se développer selon trois voies:

   . celle des prestations familiales en espèces,
   . celle des mesures fiscales,
   . celle des équipements socio-collectifs.

   La première voie relève seule de la sécurité sociale. Aujourd'hui, certains veulent introduire des critères de ressources en ce qui concerne l'octroi des prestations familiales, ils invoquent leur souci d'égalité. Il nous est avis que les inégalité doivent être principalement combattues par la voie fiscale. A cet égard, il nous paraît acceptable que les revenus de remplacement et de complément soient soumis à la perception fiscale.

2. Au cours de l'Année International de l'Enfant - 1979 - les organisations non gouvernementales de certains pays ont attiré l'attention sur le nombre élevé de naissances prématurées et d'accidents périnataux: une bonne surveillance médicale de la grossesse pourrait améliorer sensiblement cette situation.La généralisation d'allocation prénatales dont l'octroi serait lié à une surveillance médicale sérieuse devrait compléter l'ocroit de l'allocation de naissance. Cette dernière est destinée - là où elle existe - à couvrir les frais d'équipements (berceau, layette, etc) et de services (aide ménagèers, garde des enfants plus âgés , etc.). Les allocations prénatales ont un autre but qui pourrait aussi être atteint par des mesures complémentaires telles que l'obligation de prendre une partie du congé de maternité avant la naissance. L'instauration d'un congé parental d'éducation (facultatif) permettant d'arriver à lâge d'acces à l'école maternelle, avec la garantie pour les parents de retrouver un emploi et une rémunération similaires au précédent.

3. Il est un troisième problème que je désire soulever en raison de son actualité. Dans certains pays, le secteur "prestations familiales" ne connaît pas les difficultés financières éprouvées par d'autres secteurs de la sécurité sociale. D'où les propositions qui tendent à s'emparer des surplus des caisse d'allocations familiales pour combier les trous existant aujourd'hui dans les Caisses d'assurance-maladie et demain dans les Caisses de pension.

   Sans doute, les familles sont-elles concernées par les dépenses d'assurance-maladie et de l'assurance-vieillesse. Mais des transferts d'un secteur à l'autre ne se justifieraient que si les montants des allocations familiales représentait le veri

table coût social de l'enfant. Nous sommes encore loin du compte. Sans doute, la baisse de la démographie pose dans tout l'Occident des problèmes supplémentaires à la sécurité sociale. Mais n'est-ce pas aller au devant des difficulés que de ne pas améliorer les prestations familiales, là où c'est possible, au bénefice d'autres classes d'âge.

4. Au-delà des allocations familiales ordinaires octroyées sans considération de la situation sociale et professionnelle des parents. Il faut prévoir des mesures spécifiques complémentaires en faveur:

- des familles incomplètes, celles où le père ou la mère sont seuls à supporter les charges familiales;
- des familles avec un enfants handicapés, lesquelles doivent être aidées par des services adéquats (aides professionnelles, transport, etc.);
- des familles adoptives qui doivent être traitées sur un pied d'égalité avec les familles élevant leurs propres enfants;
- des familles avec jeunes enfants pour lesquelles les mesures suivantes sont nécessaires:

  . la prolongation de la protection de la maternité
  . l'octroi d'un congé lors de la maladie d'un enfant;
  . droits de faveur lors de la reprise du travail, dès que l'enfant a atteint l'âge de deux ans, par exemple.

3. La sécurité sociale et la pauvreté

La sécurité sociale reste la conquête sociale la plus important depuis 1945. Elle a conduit à un relèvement du niveau de vie.

Et cependant, dans notre société de consommation des inégalités subsistent. Plus est, même dans notre société, il reste des pauvres parmi nous.

Redécouvrir cette vérité est aussi un fait nouveau. Nous avons cru pendant des décades que les politiques sociales -et notamment celles de la sécurité sociale - réglaient de façon satisfaisante le sort des plus démunis. En fait, nous avons résolu beaucoup de problèmes en faveur de ceux qui étaient défendus par les groupes de pression. Nous avons oublié tous ceux qui étaient trop pauvres pour être travailleurs, pour être syndiqués, pour être conscients de certaines solidarité.

La politique sociale - peut-être grâce à la recherche scientifique en sciences sociales - redécouvre ceux qui cumulent les facteurs créant la pauvreté, c'est-à-dire ceux qui ont une santé déficiente, qui n'ont pas accompli un cycle d'études primaires, qui n'ont pas de formation professionnelle, qui sont exclus de notre société de consommation.

Dans cette redécouverte, saluons avec plaisir l'initiative des Commission économiques européennes qui ont pu faire accepter par le Conseil des Ministres européens un plan de financement de projets pilotes destinés à étudier les mécanismes de la pauvreté.

Les systèmes de sécurité sociale qui répondent au modèle professionel ne s'intéressent pas directement à la pauvreté. C'est aux pouvoirs public -surtout à l'échelon local - qu'il incombe de prendre des mesures complémentaires en faveur des familles les plus démunies. Ces familles doivent être aidées.

Notre siècle a réussi à détacher la classeouvrière dans un ensemble de la pauvreté: par la généralisation du travail salarié,par l'extension de la sécurité sociale, par l'acquisition du pouvoir politique, les travailleurs en tant que classe ont réintégré la société globale. C'est ainsi que la pauvreté primaire est devenue plus restreinte que par le passé. Mais le phénomène - s'il a perdu en extension - a gagné en profondeur: la pauvreté relative ne se conçoit plus seulement en termes économiques, mais aussi en termes psychologiques et culturels, en termes d'autonomie et de participation. Le pauvre n'est pas à même de briser par lui-même les cercles dans lesquels il se trouve enfermé: cercle de l'éducation, cercle du travail, cercle du logement, cercle de la santé, cercle de la ségrégation.

Il doit être aidé par des mesures sociales qui complètent la sécurité sociale élaboré par l'ensemble des citoyens.

4. La participation des familles à la gestion de la sécurité sociale

Dans un certains pays, les familles participent à la gestion des caisses d'allocations familiales. Cette participation s'éntend rarement à d'autres secteurs. Une telle situation ne correspond plus à la réalité actuelle.

Si les syndicats étaient tout indiqués dans une société industrielle pour assurer un meilleur niveau de vie des travailleurs, les familles sont tout aussi indiquées dans une société post-industrielle pour favoriser un nouveau style de vie orienté vers la "qualité de la vie".

Si les syndicats étaient tout indiquées pour permettre aux individus d'avoir plus, ils ont besoin des familles pour que leurs membres puissent être plus. La société démocraphique implique d'ailleurs un partage d'attributions entre les groupes: la relation de pouvoir qui s'établit de groupe en groupe est "une relation de collaboration et de discussion avec possibilité de compromis".

De même que les travailleurs veulent - au delà de leur entraprise - pouvoir décider de leur propre destin économique en raison de leur rôle dans la production, de même les familles veulent avoir le droit de participer aux décisions relarives aux fonctions qu'elles exercent en raison de leur rôle dans l'éducation de ceux qui feront , demain, la communauté nationale. Certains qui se refusent à examiner la réalité de faits sociaux se moqueront sans doute de l'argument. Mais ceux qui ont le sens du bien-être général reconnaîtront que celui-ci exige - au-delà d'une répartition équitable des valeur matérielles et culturelles - la garantie de la dignité des familles par la reconnaissance de leurs droits à participer à la direction

de certains secteurs de la vie sociale, notamment de la sécurité sociale.

N'est-ce pas d'ailleurs aux organisation familiales à s'occuper aussi des problèmes de la femme travaillant chez elle,dans son foyer? des problèmes des personnes âgées?

La majorité de la population n'est pas active, elle est hors marché. Qui va s'occuper essentiellement de ses problèmes, si ce ne sont les familles qui peuvent exercer notamment une action utile de coordination orientée vers les mêmes finalités.

Lesfonctions socio-affectives relèvent de la seule compétence des familles. Il en est de même pour les fonctions religieuse, éducative et récréative sans doute, de telles fonctions demandent-elles l'intervention d'organisme spécialisée (association de parents, etc.) bien qu'on n'aille pas jusqu'à prétendre que des organisations non familiales ne soient pas intéressées à de telles fonctions.

En raison même de ces fonctions dont elles sont appelées à assumer une responsabilité totale ou partielle, les familles sont destinées à devenir des acteurs coresponsables de la société : d'où leur droit de faire reconnaître le sens culturel de leur rôle dans la société; d'où leur droit - pourquoi ne pas le dire - de pouvoir revendiquer une part raisonnable des résultats de la croissance qualitative et quantitative, car les familles n'ont pas vocation d'être dupes dans le mouvement général d'enrichissement matériel et culturel.

On nous dira que les gouvernements s'occupent des travailleurs des femmes, des enfants Cela ne suffit pas. Nous avons déjà constaté cette poussée individualiste à base d'égalité des uns et des autres.

L'affirmation des droits de chacun des membres du groupes familial doit-elle nécessairement mettre en cause l'idée de la famille et son rôle dans la société? Le culte de l'individu a modifié lesrapports entreles époux et cette révolution culturelle est loin d'être négative. On est loin heureusement de la femme bonniche. Mais cette révolution ne doit pas faire oublier la relation du couple, la relation conjointe des époux avec la société. C'est ainsi que la politique de sécurité sociale ne doit pas être conçue seulement en fonction des besoins individuels . La politique de sécurité sociale doit tenir compte aussi des besoins familiaux, lesquels ne se limitent pas à la somme des besoins individuels. D'où la nécessité de la participation des familles.

5. <u>La sécurité sociale dans la perspective familiale</u>

La sécurité sociale n'est pas qu'un volet de la politique sociale; elle n'est qu'un élément de la politique familiale. La réforme de la sécurité sociale dans une perspective familiale exige un programme d'ensemble de la politique familiale.

Ce programme rappellera la fonction démographique des familles et exigera en ce domaine une information appropriée. Il ne s'agit pas de propagande, mais d'information. Pour l'instant,nous connaissons une propagande à sens unique, menée par ceux qui détiennent opérationnellement les "mass-media" et qui ignorent totalement les conséquences de l'évolution démographique sur la sécurité sociale.

Ce problème rappellera lesimpératifs de justice sociale, de répartition équitable des revenus. La prolétarisation relative peut ne pas exister au niveau du travailleur, mais apparaître au niveau familial. Il convient de généraliser une notion de revenu familial garanti pour combattre la pauvreté des familles et les inégalités économiques dans la répartition du revenu national (surtout pour lesfamilles hors marché), les inégalités entre sexes dans la répartition des responsabilités, aussi bien dans la famille que dans le travail.

Ce programme rappellera le rôle de la famille en tant qu'élément de la socialisation et de la croissance. Ce rôle ira en s'amplifiant. En effet, les pouvoirs publics doivent promouvoir un nouveau type d'éducation qui portera essentiellement sur:

- la formation du caractère,
- la sensibilité à l'esthétique,
- la pratique de la créativité pure;
- l'initiation à la psychosomatique,
- l'attrait de la culture et des formes spirituelles.

Ce nouveau type d'éducation qui doit être ouvert sur l'extérieur, en commençant par les institutions locales aura un coût insupportable pour la collectivité si celle-ci ne peut compter sur la collaboration des familles. Cette éducation permanente pour les jeunes, où se fera-t-elle si ce n'est aussi au sein des familles où la gratuité représente bien plus qu'une valeur marchande?

Ce programme réclame une réorientation des programmes politiques traditionnels. Trop souvent, la politique familiale est encore centrés sur les mesures de protection sociale dont la sécurité sociale, alors qu'aujourd'hui, et surtout aux niveaux local et régional, elle devrait influencer les mesures relative au développement économique, social et culturel afin que l'intégration des familles se réalise davantage dans la société que dans le système économique.

Il s'agit concrètement de ne plus se contenter d'une augmentation du produit national brut, mais de faire adopter des priorités sociales et socio-culturelles: c'est tout le problème de l'environnement et de la qualité de vie, ces deux thèmes méritant d'être concrétisés si l'on ne veut les réduire à l'état de slogans inutiles.

Ce programme doit être valable pour toutes les familles, restreintes ou nombreuses, jeunes ou moins jeunes; elle doit donc être à la mesure de chaque pays: elle doit traduire la solidarité qui existe entre les individus, les groupes, les générations.

La politique familiale doit agir sur tous les objectifs des diverse politiques sociales afin de réaliser une élévation réelle et équitable des niveaux de vie individuel et national, mais encore familial.

La solution doit être globale; elle se trouve dans le rejet de l'approche atomisée, dans le refus de la dichotomie de la réalité sociale (5). Durant les années antérieures, nos préoccupations ont été braquées sur le travailleur, sur la femme, sur l'enfant et leur situation dans la sécurité sociale.

Aujourd'hui, la réaction se manifeste pour mettre fin à cette dichotomie, pour réaliser une symbiose dans l'hétérogénéité, n'est-ce pas déjà dans ce sens que s'oriente la famille moderne qui repousse la division stricte des tâches entre parents, qui refuse de définir le rôle respectif des époux et des relations entre parents et enfants, qui veut renouveler le dialogue et la participation entre ses membres?

CONCLUSIONS

1. Le système de sécurité sociale a été pensé, il y a près de 40 ans, en fonction de l'image traditionnelle d'une travailleur-chef de famille ayant à sa charge femme et enfant(s).

L'évolution des faits - notamment le nombre croissant de femmes mariées exerçant une activité professionnelle (et, parmi elles, la proportion croissante de celles qui ont des enfants à charge), requiert la mise à l'étude d'un statut de sécurité sociale individuelle qui donnera à toutes les femmes - qu'elles exercent ou non une activité professionnelle en-dehors de chez elles - un droit direct à la sécurité sociale et non plus un droit dérivé (6).

Ce système de sécurité sociale devrait prévoir, pour la mère ou le père, la possibilité d'interrompre son activité professionnelle pendant les deux premières années d'éducation de l'enfant outre la garantie - partiellement déjà réalisé - du maintien de ses droits à la sécurité sociale, le père ou la mère devrait pouvoir bénéficier durant cette interruption de travail, d'une indemnité qui compense en partie la perte de salaire: à défaut d'une telle mesure, seuls les parents disposant de revenus suffisants peuvent se permettre d'interrompre leur activité professionnelle.

Parallèlement à l'instauration de cette indemnité, il faut promouvoir des mesures garantissant la réintégration dans le circuit économique et développant le réseau des services socio-collectifs telles que:

- des mesures pour retrouver l'emploi quitté ou un poste similaire (législation);
- des mesures pour garder et rétablir sa capacité de travail (recyclage);
- des mesures de remplacement de son travail en cas d'accident

ou de maladie (aide ménagère).

2. Les allocations familiales, les dégrèvements d'impôts des personnes physiques pour charges de famille et un certain nombre d'autres dispositions financièrement favorables visent a compenser les charges entraînées par l'entretien et l'éducation des enfants. Il est évident que l'accueil d'un ou de plusieurs enfants modifie le mode de vie des parents, qu'il n'est pas équitable que leur niveau de vie diminue de manière telle que, parce que il ont des enfants, ils se situent à un niveau nettement inférieur de l'échelle des revenus. Une telle situation est de nature à decourager les ménages d'accueillir un deuxième ou un troisième enfant. Elle peut être aussi source de frustration pour des enfants de famille nombreuse.

Au moment où certains gouvernements envisagent de restreindre l'octroi des prestations familiales dans le cadre des mesures visant l'équilibre des finances publiques et de la sécurité sociale, il faut rappeler que l'objectif essentiel des allocations familiales ordinaires est de couvrir forfaitairement les frais d'entretien et d'éducation de l'enfant au niveau du minimum social.

La notion de minimum social est par définition fluctuante:elle est fonction d'une époque et d'une région. Ce caractére évolutif de la notion de minimum social implique que le montant des allocations familiales doit non seulement être lié à l'évolution des prix, mais doit en outre être périodiquement adapté à l'évolution de bien-être général.

3. Une telle évolution doit se réaliser avec la participation des familles. Nous sommes une démocratie de groupes.

L'Etat doit aujourd'hui compter avec des groupes divers:syndicats, mutuelles, etc. Il faut y ajouter les organisations familiales.

Les mouvements familiaux doivent réaliser une action commune de tous Les groupements parafamiliaux spécialisés, s'ils veulent avoir quelques chance de faire passer leur programme.

Cette considération se place sur le plan de la tactique.Mais elle prend une valeur nouvelle au moment où des nouveaux modes de participation sociale et politique s'élaborent à travers de nouveaux mouvement sociaux et politiques; il convient de voir comment, à travers ces nouveau mouvements, les familles peuvent se réintegrer dans la société globale et ne pas rejoindre les laissés pour compte de la société post-industrielle.

NOTES:

(1) Il faut ajouter les travaux de l'Association Internationale de sécurité sociale

(2) A. DELPEREE. Réflexion à propos d'une réforme de la sécurité sociale. Revue belge de Sécurité Sociale.Bruxelles. Mai 1980.

(3) G. BLANCHARD. Sécurité sociale, une conférence internationale pour surmonter une crise générale. Le Monde. 8 avril 1980.

(4) A. DELPEREE. Une politique sociale pour l'Europe 1980. Cahiers du Centre d'études Jacques Georgin. Bruxelles 1978.

(5) Anne JAUMIN-PONSAR. La policy science: une nouvelle école de la décision publique. Bruxelles. Edition Vander. 1975.

(6) Albert DELPEREE. Politique familiale et Communauté européennes. Revue belge de sécurité sociale. Avril-mai 1978.

Jan TROST

Family and housing

In 1960 43 per cent of the Swedes were living in "overcrowded" dwellings. In 1975 this fraction had decreased to slightly more than ten per cent. Thus the degree of "overcrowdedness" decreased remarkably during that 15 year period.

So what? Why do I mention these facts? I have chosen this set of figures as examples of a social fact indicating two slightly different points of interest. One of these points of interests in that someone evidently has decided what is decent, reasonable or good for families or households as regards the space in the dwellings. The other point of interest is that a change has occured in a positive direction. Let us examine these two points to some extent using this example as a background for a discussion on family and housing and policy around these two phenomena.

Owercrowdedness is when the number of persons in a dwelling exeeds two times the number of rooms, when the kitchen and the parlour are not counted. This means that a family consisting of three or four persons does not live in a overcrowded dwelling if they have two bedrooms, one kitchen and one parlour. Why was it not decided to be 1.9 or 2.1 times the number of rooms? The decision how to define what is overcrowded in dwellings has followed the routine way. This means that some bureaucrats in a governmental agency have dealth with the problems of what should

be defined as normal and what should be defined as owecrowded As is often the case a round figure has been mentioned and not a fraction. Saying that one person per room would be the standard would in its turn mean that almost all of the population would be defined as living in overcrowded dwellings. The figure three persons per room on the other hand would mean that almost no household would be classified as overcrowded. Thus the figure two seems to be appropriate. The figure was proposed and in the ordinary way the politicians in the Parliament decided that this was the definition.

It is not, however, only a definition. It means that implicity as well as explicitly, the definition gives a norm in effect being a means for family policy. Certainly the Parliament has also decided that this should be an overt norm. Thus the authorities, planners, etc. should work in order to decrease the number of households or families living in thus defined as overcrowded dwellings. This norm has been used in many diverse respects. One of them is e.g. that the number of newly constructed one room apartments has almost vanished. The majority of apartments constructed the last decade or so has been two, three of four room apartments. It has also meant that housing subsidies have been knitted to this norm. Somewhat surprising might be that if a family or a household lives in an overcrowded apartment they will not receive housing subsidies. If they, however, have more space and thus a more luxorious dwelling they will receive the financial subsidies for the housing. At the same time, however, as these family policy measures have been in force, there have been some other changes in society. One of them is that the fertility has decreased considerably over the years. Another one is that the number of one person and two person households has increased partly dependant upon an increase in the divorce rate, partly dependant upon better economic and social standard making it possible for the youngsters as well as for senior citizens to live separately from their close relatives. Thus it would be premature to interpret the change to be an effect of family policy only. Like other social events, changes in the rate of overcrowded dwellings are due to not one factor but a multitude of factors - in this case family policy is one, many other factors hinting in the same effective direction existing.

Since 1937 there has been a possibility to receive a loan from the state without surety or other security when marrying. There were many backgrounds for this decision of 1937. One of the arguments was that young persons when marrying in most cases have not had a possibility of saving money and thus do not have much money without money it is very hard to form a family and start a living together. If a couple does not have the financial possibilities of starting a family they can either postpone the marriage or marry. In the latter case, however, there is a great risk of either serious economic suffer making troubles of different sorts during the marriage or that the spouses borrow money or buy on credit. If they borrow money on the open market there is a risk that their economy will

be destroyed for a long time because of the interests and instalments if they do not have good surety. There is also a risk that they will buy on credit and perhaps not be able to pay the instalments. Those were the main arguments behind the idea of loans for the extra costs when starting a marriage and living together.

This short description is, however, not quite correct.It should be noted that in the beginning of the 1930s the marriage rate was low, the number of children born by an unmarried mother was high. Furthermore the fertility rate was extremely low. The low marriage rate and the high rate of children born by an unmarried mother was a set of facts horrifying lots of organizations, group and individuals from moral points of view. If society could force or help the couples having sexual relationship, running the risk of giving birth to a child born by an unmarried mother, to marry and to follow the societal norms this would be of great advantage for the society.

There are no doubts that the low fertility rate was another important factor behind the decision of loans for forming a stable marriage union and start a living together. In the middle of the 1930 it was realized that the fertility rate was declining considerably and had been so for some time.

A book published in 1934 written by the spouses Alva and Gunnar Myrdal started the debate on the low fertility rate . There was evidently something like a nationalistic concern for the population to remain making the low fertility rate to be looked upon with anxiety. Some debaters have claimed that the debate to a high extent was nationalistic in the meaning of being racist. This is not really true. In fact in many parts of the world we have the same problems nowadays: a low fertility rate. As during the 1930s the question about the fertility rate is complicated.

On one hand a country cannot survive if the fertility rate goes too low and if it fluctuates too much it will be too costly for the society. On the other hand it is easy to say that the overcrowded globe could deliver some persons to the low fertility countries. The latter statement, however, is somewhat immature. Why should a country like for instance Sweden or any other country be attractive to persons living in the Third World? Why should it be so attractive so that people would be prepared to export themselves or their children to "barbaric" countries?

There are, however, no doubts that the concern for the population and the low fertility rate was one of the factors behin the idea of loans for settling a marriage and family.

When the system with the loans for settling down in family was about a decade old, it was evident that it had very little effect upon the marriages. The marriage rate had increa-

sed. The number of marriages had increased, the relative number of children born by unmarried mothers had decreased but it is very doubtful if these family policy means really had any effect upon these rates. In other countries we found very similar changes without any policy means like those in Sweden.

Without doubts lots of young persons had had their settling down in marriages simplified through the help of these loans with low interest and without a need for surety.

Many couples started their families under much easier conditions than they would have done without these loans.

In 1951 the Government realized that these loans aimed at increasing the fertility, simplifying for couples to start a living together, etc. as mentioned above, did not have the population political importance as presumed and intended. On the contrary the loans had an effect of social subsidies more generally simplifying the lving and the living together for couples . This in its turn means that the loans had been used to a very high extent when other social means had not been available. In short we can say that the idea in the middle of the 1930s with these loans were to increase the marriage rate and the fertility rate in society, while the loans after some time managed to give possibilities for couples to start a decent livig together

With this change from one type of aim to another type of function followed also an official change in aim during the 1950s. Thus, it was decided that an unmarried mother with a minor child could be given a loan. Evidently the aim was not any longer to increase the marriage rate of fertility rate but to simplify for persons with economic and other problems.

It was not until 1965 that an unmarried father with a minor child was allowed to apply for and receive such a loan of settling in a dwelling. In 1965 the sex-role debate and the equality debate had started and was in full blossom.The next important change came in 1969 when it was decided that this type of loan was also possible for a man and a woman starting a steady cohabitation under marriage-like conditions but without being formally married. As i have shown in my book Unmarried Cohabitation (International Library, 1979) it is in reality hard to decide for the local authorities if a couple is really cohabiting under marriage-like conditions or not. They have to rely to a very high extent upon the information given by those applying for the loan.

We all know that the family always has been the nuclear part of society and that society has calculated and still calculates upon the family in many respects. The family delivers new members to society, socialize and take care of its members. The matrimonial as well as other laws have more or less taken the family and the rules have concerned technical/financial matters like how to start and dissolute a marriage, how to divide the property in case of dissolution or in case of death of one of the members etc. To our knowledge almost all matrimonial as well as other civil laws presume that the spouses and the family li

ve together in the same household under normal and ordinary conditions.

As indicated above, the situation with the population matters during the 1930s made that for instance the Swedish society had to change attitude. Thus we started with something that could be called family policy. It meant that society started to be more actively interested in the family as a social institution in society and acted toward taking care of it, keeping it intact, etc. Later, other aspects have arrived on the scenary. Thus, the family is not today the unit to which subsidies or family policy matters are directed. It is either the household or the individual being in focus of the policy. It is not the individual, it is not the family receiving subsidies for housing, it is the household that receives such subsidies. Albeit it is fully correct to say that many countries like e.g. Sweden does not have any family policy but individual and household policies it would be a mistake to claim that the family does not gain from the other types of policies existing.

Finally I would like to present some ideas on service housing. At the beginning of this century discussion started on how to smplify for the families and households in two respects. One of them was giving service to the households in a meaningulf way. This could mean technical service, facilities like restaurant, letter pick-up, mailing service, laundary etc. in the housing system. The other dimension was the gemeinschafts dimension meaning the social and emotional contacts between the inhabitants.

Some attempts were made to realize the ideas of helping the families to have better contact with each other and to fullfill the need for technical facilities. The first service house in Scandinavia was built in 1903 in Copenhagen. Some servicehouses with these two aims have been built. A third dimensions has later been included in the discussions: the category dimension. There are lots of service houses all over the world for special types of households or families or individuals. Student dormitories senior citizens housing,etc.are examples of such categories.

The category service housing systems have been very successful as we all know. The non-category systems, however, have not been succesful, at least not in Scandinavia. The service facilities have mostly been too expensive for ordinary people to stay there and if the housing systems have survuved they have gone over to being category systems. If they have not gone over to category systems they have vanished more and more in the meaning of being service houses.

The idea with the gemeinschaft of the social and emotional contacts between the families and inhabitants has vanished more and more in the Swedish discussion. When, for instance in Uppsala in the 1960s the local authorities, partly influenced by the debate and questioning of the nuclear family as a reasonable social unit, started showing an interest in service housing the gemeinschaft ideas, however, were to full extent absent. It was only the technical service facilities that were discussed

So, when we did some studies concerning the interest among the inhabitants to move to such a service system it was only the technical facilities we enumerated and on which we presented the ideas. With the increase in maternal employment and the overall increase in employment rate among women there evidently is some kind of a need for service facilities. The technical development however, has made it easier and easier for the households to take care of the household duties themselves without using such service facilities. The laundary machines, the dishwashing mashines, etc. have simplified the household work to a very high extent. Now during the energy crisis there is a possibility for a renewed demand for energy-saving housing solution . Servicehousing saves energy if used the intended way.

Final remarke

I have here mentioned three examples of housing and the family policy. The question remains: what are the needs from the families point of view and how do they go together with the society's needs and policy?

There is a tradition in family sociology to emphasize eight family functions.On does not have to be a functionalist in order to realize the practical value and usefulness of this taxonomy of a part of the social reality. I myself being a combination of a symbolic interactionist and structuralist find them very useful in some respects.

The eight functions I think of are:

1. The economic or productive function. The family has to earn money (talking about the modern society)and produce goods or services (baking, cooking etc) in order for the individual, the family, and the society to survive in the long run.
   The idea with service housing is to minimize the integral production of goods and services. Loans helping the new family to a decent start simplifies for it to fulfill the integral productive function and if the family /household is not overcrowded it has better possibilities te fulfill this function.
   From societies point of view good size and good equipment as well as a location close to er with good communication to the family members' work sites if of importance for the family to be able to fulfill the economic function.

2. The reproductive function is the second of the family functions. It means that the family as such, and the family as social institution have to produce members for the society to survive - the family is the social institution taking care of the reproduction for the society. At the same time the family in kinsip-terminoly has to produce new members in order for the kinship to survive. Overcrowded housing means easily, together with

possibilities for an active family planning, that the reproduction stays on a low level. In many of our countries we have such a lowfertility that the population in the long run will decrease. This is probably partly due to, set overcrowdedness, but housing costs. In its turn the housing costs are se high because equipment etc. smplifying the conomic / productive function is expensive. Thus thesex two functions in a way sometimes compete with each other.

3. The third function is the socialization function - learsing the infants, the youngsters, the new family members how to behave and think in order to be members in the family, the kinship and the society.
Albeit the family hes lost many parts of this function the housing is of interest re the socialization. It must be the task for society to locate crêches, child care homes, preschools, schools etc. close to the housing of the family;
The latter is certainly complicated for the society. We are probably all aware of the problem with housing areas. One of them is e.g. that when a housing area is newly coustructed those moving in there are usually to a very high extent young families. This means a need for e.g. crêches, preschools,and primary schools. After some years there are few children left, they have grown up and need other socializing subsystems; After another some years the population in the area has changed again, etc.

4. The sexual function is sometimes looked upon as almost the same as the reprodctive function. We all know, however,that sexual intercourse is necessary for a pregnancy. But pregnancies do not follow upon all sexual intercourses - less than one out of a thousand intercourses is followed by a pregnancy. Not all pregnancies result in a child.
The sexual function is highly influenced by the possibility of having spatial privacy, thus the family policy as regards housing is of high importance for the wellbeing of the sexually active in the family. According to recent sex research we all have the possibility of being sexually active - if permitted to be so.
The latent sexual activity is latent independent of age,sex, handicaps, etc and can be suppressed or supported by social norms as well as by housing conditions.

5. The religious function is in many society easier to fulfill independent of housing. We find the need for new churches., however, to be built in new suburbs even in Sweden, inspite of Sweden being said to be highly secularized.
The demand for privacy in the home does not have the same spatial content as has the sexual function, partly because religious activities to a highter extent are individual,and partly because much religious activities are non-visible.

6. The protective function is by tradition to one being associated with housing; the house being the shelter for the indi-

vidual and for the family - shelter against the weather and against enemies. The former type of shelter is still very important and needless to go on discussing being so avident to all of us. Another part of the protective fun cion is health and sick care. This part has to higher and higher extent been taken over by society. With economic problems in society either society has not taken over this type of protection or can, as is the case in Sweden try to impose more and more of the responsibility for the ill and for the elderly upon the family. This in its turn requires housing; space as well as quipment, making the home-care possible.

7. The seventh function is the leisure-time function.We all have leisure-time (some of us do not admit it). It has to be filled with a content. Some of it is associated with friend. But in many societies mostly with the family. Evidently the family policy has to work toward offering facilities like sports arrangements, coming together rooms hobby facilities, etc. as well as simplifying the families' internal fulfilling of the leisure-time needd.

8. The emotional function was from earlier times called the primary group function. For those of us being familiar with the term and the concept of primary group the meaning is clear related to housing, the family is the sole primary group existing overywhere and being a social instituion means that society needs the family.

   Thus the primary group function is of utmest importance for not only the individual, and the single family but also for the society. The families need to be able to fulfill as much as possible of this function.
   Sometimes it is said that the primary group function is two one remaining in modern society and being to full extent an internal family matter. If so is the case, at least partly, it means that some of the other functions not only have lost some of the power but also have to rely upon the primary group function.
   Thus through location of, size of, facilities in, service to, and surroundings to the housing of the families society can help or destroy the possibilities for the families to fulfill their individual, their primary group, and their societal functions.

   According to my opinion society can never and should never try to impose behaviour, attitudes, feelings, or emotions upon the family and its members. Society can and shall simplify for the family and its members to act , feel, think,etc as is highly valued in the society. One of the means of doing so is by a good and active family planning on housing.

Antonio PEROTTI

Politica familiare e politica migratoria in Europe

L'obiettivo di questa mia comunicazione si situa nel quadro generale di una analisi e di una proposta di politica familiare in Europa negli anni '80.

Ritengo, infatti, che si sbaglierebbe qualora si volesse trattare il tema della famiglia migrante, o emigrata o candidata all'emigrazione, sotto l'angolo di uno spazio settoriale da coprire con una elaborazione di una politica settoriale, una altra fra le tante.

La soluzione dei problemi della famiglia migrante, come del resto l'analisi della sua situazione, passa attraverso una analisi globale della famiglia e una politica familiare "tout court", come la soluzione del problema dell'alloggio degli emigranti, della scolarizzazione dei loro figli, ecc., passa attraverso la soluzione del problema generale dell'accesso allo alloggio sociale, alla scuola ecc., delle categorie di popolazione meno favorite delle nostre società.

Tenere conto della famiglia migrante significa semplicemente tenere conto della condizione di mobilità geografica interna di ogni nucleo familiare nella società di oggi e della situazione che spesso ne consegue di pluralismo sociale, etnico, religioso, nazionale e culturale (pluralismo spesso di civiltà) delle nostre stesse società europee.

La politica familiare in Europa nondeve considerare quindi la famiglia migrante come un problema sociale (uno fra i tanti), ma come un problema di società.

Significa cioè, prendere coscienza che nella società europea di oggi i diritti del sangue (cioè della persona) coincidono sempre meno - a causa delle migrazioni - con i diritti del territorio e che il territorio vede sempre più indebolito il suo rapporto con il diritto di nazionalità o di cittadinanza.

Da questa non coincidenza si stanno allargando ampiamente gli spazi di discriminazione fra persone nate su di un territorio e quelle nate altrove, tra chi è cittadino e chi è straniero; gli spazi di discriminazione che vanno ben al di là della sfera del diritto matrimoniale e del diritto di famiglia.

La stessa precarizzazione del titolo di lavoro e del titolo di soggiorno degli stranieri, mette oggi in evidenza gli stretti legami esistenti tra diritto di lavoro e diritto di famiglia (vedi ad esempio il diritto del ricongiungimento familiare disgiunto dal diritto da parte dei membri della famiglia ricongiunta di accedere al lavoro), tra politica dell'impiego e politica familiare.

La famiglia "migrante", o meglio la "componente migratoria" di un politica familiare diventa in tal modo un "text",un "rivelatore" delle discriminazioni, dei limiti e delle lacune esistenti nelle politiche familiari in vigore nei diversi Paesi dell'Europa Occidentale: una specie di punta di "iceberg" che manifesta l'esistenza di una realtà sommersa e nascosta che occorre affrontare: una lente di ingrandimento o uno specchio che ingrossa le discriminazioni interne alle nostre stesse società.

D A T I

Una considerazione di fondo che va fatta oggi in Europa è l'importanza crescente acquisita dopo il blocco delle frontiere a nuove immigrazioni di lavoro permanente, deciso da quasi tutti i Paesi Europei intorno agli anni 1973-1974, della dimensione familiare della popolazione straniera nei diversi Paesi di immigrazione.

Tutte le statistiche disponibili concernenti la composizione demografica della popolazione straniera, l'importanza assunta negli ultimi anni dal ricongiungimento familiare, lo sviluppo delle nascite da coppie straniere o da padre o da madre stranieri,la percentuale - notevole in alcuni paesi - di matrimoni di mista nazionalità, l'alta percentuale di scolari stranieri nella scuola dello obbligo, sono una conferma dell'importanza della dominante familiare nella popolazione straniera, abitualmente considerata dalle statistiche economiche come una popolazione composta da soli lavoratori.

La popolazione straniera rappresenta oggi in Europa una media che va dal 10% al 34% della crescita demografica dei Paesi di immigrazione.

Le cifre sulla dimensione familiare della popolazione straniera parlano di se stesse, con estrema evidenza.

Prendiamo tre grosse cifre, tra le più significative:

dal 1977 in poi, in due Paesi dell'Europa Occidentale (La Francia e la Germania) nascono poco meno di 200.000 bambini all'anno, figli di almeno un genitore straniero.

Nell'anno scolastico 1976-1977 nei soli Paesi della Comunità Europea, escluso la GB di cui le statistiche non erano disponibili, la popolazione scolastica straniera si aggirava intorno ai due milioni.

Nel 1976 si stimava intorno a 800.000 i ragazzi stranieri in età dai 10 ai 15 anni nei Paesi della Comunità Europea. Cifra indicativa dei complessi problemi di occupazione che in prospettiva l'immigrazione familiare sta preparando all'Europa: problemi resi ancora più acuti dalla persistente crisi economica e dalla pesantezza della situazione occupazionale.

Sebbene in alcuni Paesi i dati concernenti le nascite dei bambini stranieri abbiano indicato negli ultimi anni una certa flessione (vedi il caso della Svizzera e della Germania) è difficile prevedere in che misura essi cresceranno ancora in seguito ai ricongiungimenti familiari.

Secondo una stima del Ministero Federale del Lavoro e della sicurezza sociale tedesco, vivono attualmente nei principali Paesi di emigrazione verso la Germania circa 700.000 ragazzi al di sotto dei 18 anni, i cui genitori lavorano in Germania. L'aumento degli assegni familiari (dal 1° luglio 1979 si ricevono rispettivamente DM 50 per il primo figlio, DM 100 per il secondo figlio e DM 200 per gli altri figli), potrebbe essere un ulteriore incentivo a portare i figli in Germania , dato che le quote degli assegni familiari per i bambini che vivono all'estero rimangono notevolmente più basse (come in altri Paesi, vedi la Francia) e non sono state aumentate (rispettivamente DM 10, 25, 60, 70..).

La tendenza al ricongiungimento familiare è stato indirettamente rafforzato dalla chiusura delle frontiere a nuovi lavoratori stranieri permanenti e dal conseguente prolungamento del soggiorno dei lavoratori stranieri che ha provocato per molti la trasformazione del progetto migratorio provvisorio o temporaneo in espatrio definitivo o a lunga scadenza.

L'importanza della dimensione familiare è accresciuta dall'arrivo dei rifugiati politici e dal bisogno che hanno diversi Paesi d'Europa di assicurare, nei prossimi anni, uno sviluppo demografico minacciato delle attuali tendenze del movimento naturale della popolazione autoctona, in particolare per quanto riguarda la Germania e il Belgio.

PRESE DI COSCIENZA DEI GOVERNI D'EUROPA

Di questa tendenza, i diversi governi europei hanno preso

coscienza con una significativa unanimità, recentemente, in occasione della Conferenza, tenutasi a Strasburgo dal 6 all'8 maggio 1980 , dei Ministri Europei responsabili delle questioni migratorie, sul tema "Migrazione europea negli ann 1980. Tendenze e politiche".

Serva di esempio il seguente brano tolto dal documento conclusivo, approvato all'unanimità:

"...Il fatto saliente è che un numero considerevole di stranieri e delle loro famiglie vivono da lungo tempo nei paesi di accoglimento e che diversi vi s'installano definitivamente.

Ne segue che una seconda generazione di immigrati raggiunge ora la maggiorenneità o l'età di lavoro. Questa situazione pone dei problemi complessi, la cui soluzione necessiterà un'opera di lunga durata per quanto concerne l'integrazione armoniosa della prima e della seconda generazione d'immigrati nei paesi di accoglimento come pure una cooperazione crescente tra questi ultimi e i paesi di origine.

L'emigrazione ha comportato dei costi considerevoli sul piano umano e sociale per i lavoratori migranti e per le loro famiglie. Questo fatto, oltre all'importante contributo che essi recano allo sviluppo economico dei paesi ospiti,ha fatto nascere presso di loro una crescente letiggima attesa in materia di uguaglianza di trattamento, di sicurezza, di promozione sociale e culturale....

...Soluzioni pratiche dovrebbero essere trovate al fine di eliminare gli ostacoli al ricongiungimento familiare per i lavoratori migranti nello spirito dell'art. 12 della Convenzione Europea sullo statuto giuridico del lavoratore migrante. Nello stabilire e nell'applicare i regolamenti in materia di ricongiungimento familiare o di accesso al mercato di lavoro, i paesi di accoglimento dovranno sforzarsi di tener conto delle ripercussioni cheessi possono avere sul fenomeno del lavoro irregolare".

Dello stesso spirito dell'art. 12 della Convenzione Europea è anche l'art. 18 della Carta Sociale Europea che attende la ratifica ancora da parte di diversi Stati. Risoluzioni e Raccomandazioni, nello stesso senso, sono stati formulati anche in sede di Commissione CEE e del Consiglio d'Europa.

L'aspetto, comunque, innovativo che si sta sviluppando dopo l'arresto dell'immigrazione economica permanente è una riflessione sui diritti individuali degli immigrati.

La volontà politica di consolidare la presenza degli immigrati al livello attuale è un momento storico da cogliere per il riconoscimento di diritti supplementari in favore di chi risiede o risiederà legalmente nella comunità.

Del resto l'integrazione in un paese non può passare che attraverso questa strada: l'accettazione dello straniero nella sua interezza.

FASI CHE DOVREBBERO COPRIRE UNA POLITICA GLOBALE DELLA FAMIGLIA NEL CAMPO DELLA EMIGRAZIONE.

La politica familiare nell'emigrazione dovrebbe coprire tutte le fasi successive che costituiscono il processo migratorio:

. la situazione al paese di origine;
. l'arrivo del capofamiglia e le condizioni e pratiche di imposte per fare venire la famiglia
. l'arrivo della famiglia e la sua installazione
. il processo di adattamento dei differenti membri della famiglia nel corso del soggiorno all'estero
. il ritorno eventuale al paese di origine.

I PUNTI NEVRALGICI DI INTERVENTO

Inquadrata in una politica globale, come l'abbiamo descritta, la politica familiare che voglia prendersi a carico le situazioni specifiche della famiglia migrante in Europa, dovrebbe a mio parere, orientare i suoi sforzi di analisi e di intervento su otti punti nevralgici che presentano oggi gli spazi lacunosi sia sul piano della regolamentazione giuridica sia su quello dell'intervento sociale, tanto a livello nazionale che internazionale:

1. La precarizzazione del titolo di lavoro e di soggiorno che trasforma in "mariti precari" centinaia di migliaia di lavoratori con la conseguente precarizzazione di tutti i progetti familiari, incluso anche quello della scolarizzazione dei figli, progetto che richiede una notevole stabilità per un lungo arco di tempo. Non possiamo accettare che l'omo nasca alla vita civile solo se c'è un padrone che, dandogli un permesso di lavoro, lo mette in condizione di essere così partorito alla sfera del diritto.

2. Il ricongiungimento familiare, le condizioni e i prerequisiti amministrativi che lo regolamentano.

3. L'accesso all'alloggio sociale, con particolare attenzione alle discriminazioni di fatto conseguenti alle modalità di applicazione del diritto di accesso a tale alloggio, modalità imposta agli stranieri sia a livello comunale sia a livello delle istituzioni specifiche che gestiscono l'assegnazione di questo tipo d'alloggio.

4. Il diritto di accesso al lavoro e le sue modalità da parte della moglie e dei figli che hanno raggiunto il capofamglia all'estero.

5. La scolarizzazione e il collegamento socio-educativo, oggi pressochè inesistente, tra spazio scolastico e spazio familiare.

6. Le discriminazioni derivanti - all'interno della famiglia - dallo statuto giuidico di stranieri, dai prerequisiti della acquisizione della nazionalità e del diritto di trasmissione della propria cittadinanza ai figli : discriminazioni concer

nenti diversi capitoli dellapolitica familiare, da quello della nunzialità a quello della maternità e della filiazione.

7. Le strutture di accoglienza di informazione e di formazione sociale, indispensabile - soprattutto nella fase iniziale - ad una popolazione come quella straniera, che vive situazioni specifiche di isolamento e di ignoranza dell'ordinamento giuridico, sociale, educativo e previdenziale del Paese ospite, concernente il diritto di famiglia.

8. La protezione, infine, della famiglia rimasta in patria per quanto concerne da una parte la soddisfazione dell'obbligo alimentare e dall'altra una equa applicazione dei sistemi di previdenza sociale, con particolare riguardo agli assegni familiari.

I RISCHI DA EVITARE

Voglio concludere questa comunicazione, sottolineando due rischi che dovrebbe evitare la politica della famiglia in Europa negli anni '80.

1. Il primo (che considero una vera trappola verso cui stiamo già incamminandoci) è quello di orientare la politica familiare in rapporto alla popolazione straniera in Eropa verso una politica selettiva che privilegia sempre di più l'immigrazione europea (Paesi della CEE o candidati a diventarlo), dando sempre più all'immigrazione di origine non europea e principalmente alle correnti africane (del Nord o dell'Africa Nera), un carattere d'immigrazione temporanea di lavoro. Secondo i patrocinatori di questa politica selettiva, il costo d'integrazione delle famiglie il cui modo di vivere d'origine è molto differente dal nostro sarebbe, infatti, elevatissimo, e la collettività nazionale non sarebbe disposta a pagarne il prezzo.

   La fattura sociale e cultura della integrazione va pagata interamente e per tutti. Non è possibile pensare che si possa arrivare all' integrazione autentica per una specie di "parto indolore".

2. Il secondo è quello di introdurre nella regolamentazione dei permessi di soggiorno,dei meccanismi discriminanti tra i lavoratori stranieri che risiedono in Europa con le loro famiglie e quelli che hanno il loro nucleo familiare in patria o che addirittura sono celibi, instaurando una precarizzazione automatica dei titoli concernenti i secondi, senza tenere conto delle situazioni personali (durata del soggiorno, diritti acquisiti, ecc.). Anche il celibe ha il diritto, come uomo, di non essere ridotto alla sua busta paga, e di non venire al mondo del diritto, solo se è partorito dei bisogni economici.

E' tenendo presente il quadro iniziale che ho proposto, le diverse fasi che costituiscono l'intero processo migratorio, i punti nevralgici dell'intervento e i rischi da evitare che inviterei coloro che parteciperanno al gruppo di lavoro sulla politica familiare e migrazioni a concentrare la loro analisi e le loro proposte.

Margaret KILLERBY

Family law

I. INTRODUCTION

a) The canging nature of the family

The changing family patterns and family life (eg smaller family units, decline in the marriage rate and growing number of unmarried couples, increase in marriages between persons of different nationalities) have been reflected in the family laws of many European States (eg equality of spouses, improved legal protection for children in the case of custody, adoption or illegitimacy, more laws regulating the break down of marriage and the progressive abandon of the notion of fault in the case of divorce).

b) The role of the law

The role of the law in the family is not only to solve problems which have arisen (eg the right to occupy the family home or breakdown of marriage) but also to prevent problems from arising (eg by providing rules for succession). There can be no doubt that direct contact between States at a European level enables them to gain information and to make use of such information in the preparation of new national laws. As far as possible it is desirable to achieve a harmonisation at European level although such a harmonisation presents certain difficulties owing to the different religious, moral and social conceptions (eg questions rela-

ting to divorce, dowries, family names) and many questions are so interlinked that they are difficult to deal with separately (eg property rights on the termination of a marriage by divorce or death).

In spite of these difficulties it is essential for the law to keep pace with social progress and, where possible, adopt a common European approach so preventing unnecessary divergencies. The Council of Europe had dealth with certain aspects of family law and in 1976 the European Ministers of Justice, at their Brussels Conference, made a Recommendation to the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe to study 'the steps which should and could be taken towards the harmonisation of family law at a European level, in view inter alia of the importance of the family as a basic unit of society". The following year the European Conference on family law was held in Vienna and now an overall programme of work has been set up within the Council of Europe in the field of family law.

II. THE WORK OF THE COUNCIL OF EUROPE IN THE FIELD OF FAMILY LAW

a) With regard to spuses

1. Equality of spouses in civil law (Resolution (78) 37 of the Committee of Ministers on the equality of spouses in civil law)

This Resolution calls on governments to amend their laws to ensure equality between spouses especially where the legal position of the wife is inferior to her husband's (eg by designating him "the head of the family" or givin him the sole right to take decisions concerning his wife).

Recommendations concerning ways of achieving equality between spouses are made in respect of personal matters, the property of the spouses and matters relating to their children.

2. Nationality, domicile and residence (Resolution (77) 12 of the Committee of Ministers on the nationality of spouses of different nationalities, Resolution (72) 1 of the Committee of Ministers on standardisation of the legal concepts of domicile and residence).

These two Resolution seek:

i) to favour the unity of nationality within the family and the legal equality between the spouses by enabling a spouse to acquire the other spouse's nationality ot to allow a spouse to retain his own nationality and
ii) to ensure that the domicile or residence of one spouse does not depend upon that of the other spouse.

3. Access to justice and human rights (the Airey case - judgement of the European Court of Human Rights 1979)

This case concerns an Irish wife who was unable to obtain a decree of judicial separation as she had insufficient means to pay the cost of the necessary High Court proceedings and legal aid was not available for this purpose. The European Court held that Mrs. Airey did not enjoy an effective right of access to the Irish Court and that the means of protecting her private life were not in reality accessible to her.

4. Future work relating to spouses (The Committee of experts on the law relating to spouses

This Committee is examining the rights of spouses relating to the family home and household contents and the question of grounds for divorce, it will consider at a later meeting the question of maintenance for a divorced spouse.

b) With regard to children

1. Adoption (the European Convention on the adoption of children)

The Convention is based on the best interests of the child and ensures that an adopted child is considered as the legitimate child of the adopter. The object of the Convention is to update and harmonise the national laws and to avoid conflict of laws where the adoption involves a transfer from one country to another.

2. Children born out of wedlock (the European Convention on the legal status of children born out of wedlock).

The rules which have been set out in the Convention have as their objective the assimilation of the legal status of children born out of wedlock with those born in wedlock.

3. Children born out of wedlock and human rights (the Marckx case-judgement of the European Court of Human Rights 1979)

As Belgian law limited the rights of the "illegitimate " child and the unmarried mother as far as inheritance on intestacy and voluntary dispositions are concerned the European Court of Human Rights held that certain provisions of the Belgian Civil Code infringed the Convention.

4. Social protection (the European Social Charter)

The Carther grants specific protection and, for example, recognises the right of the family to social, legal and economic protection.

5. Nationality (Resolution (77) 13 of the Committee of Ministers on the nationality of children born in wedlock.Convention on reduction of case of multiple nationality and military obligations in cases of multiple nationality).

These international instruments seek to ensure that a child may acquire the nationality of its father or mother and that the number of cases and problems of multiple nationality are reduced.

6. Age (Resolution (72) 29 of the Committe of Ministers on the lowering of the age of full legal capacity)

This Resolution recommends governments of member States to lower the age of majority below 21 years and if they deem it advisable to fix that age at 18 years

7. Custody (European Convention on recognition and enforcement of decisions concerning custody of children and on restoration of custody of children).

The custody Convention will ensure:

i) the recognition and enforcement of decisions relating to the custody and access to children and
ii) the restoration of custody in the case of a removal of the child to another country.

In certain cases custody may be restored forthwith; in other cases the restoration of custody may be subject to a number of grounds for refusal.

The Convention gives applicants the right to free, rapid and non-bureaucratic assistance bu the central authorities of Con - tracting States, sets out the duties of such authorities (eg to discover the whereabouts of a child) and provides for co-operation between central and other authorities.

8. Future work relating to children (the Committee of experts on the law relating to children)

This Committee is examining the question of advance payment of maintenance by the State for children when the father or mother or both fail to discharge their maintenance obligations (see also Recommendation 868 (1979) of the Assembly on payment by the State of advances on child maintenance). When this work has been completed the Committee will examine questions relating to parental authority and foster families.

III. CONCLUSIONS - HOW FAMILY LAW CAN HELP FAMILY POLICY

a) At a national level

Family law plays a very important and essential role in every country by: protecting all members of the family and their economic interests. In most European States there have been many recent changes in family law, mainly as a result of social and economic factors affecting the family and family law now has to cope with an ever-increasing variety of situations and and problems (eg the growing number of divorces and the effectiveness of reconciliation proceedings, custody of children, maintenance, second marriages).

b) At a European level

In order to achieve the maximum results at a European level is is necessary to seek and where possible adopt common solutions in the field of family law (eg by considering the advantages and disadvantages of laws which are already in force in other European States). The Council of Europe has established a programme in the field of family law and in the context of this programme it is continuing and intensifying its work.

In conclusion the international instruments (Convocations and Recommendations) encourage and enable national Parliaments and those responsible for preparign legislation to adopt European solutions in the field of family law and so help to achieve a common family policy in this field.

Tina ANSELMI

Donna e famiglia

Se l'uomo è in quanto sia capace di rapporti, è difficile che egli sia in grado di realizzare un rapporto vero con la società, se non ha vissuto quella esperienza autenticamente comunitaria che è la famiglia. Non si può privilegiare l'individuo e il suo egoismo, fino a rompere ogni vincolo d'impegno e di solidarietà verso gli altri, e poi illudersi che la famiglia e la società possano avvalersi dello sforzo, della partecipazione, del sacrificio dei membri che la compongono. Ma la famiglia, così come è vissuta, è ancora veramente una "comunità"? E' capace di aggregare, amare, formare, aiutare e pretendere nello stesso tempo? L'economicismo e la società "opulenta" (restano i danni, anche se l'opulenza se ne sta andando) portati a valori assoluti hanno spostato il centro di attenzione dell'azione, anche politica e legislativa, dal singolo inserito nella società al coollettivo senza individuo. La mentalità che ne emerge non è meno individualistica solo perchè è massificata.

In questa realtà tuttavia la famiglia è ancora un punto di riferimento. Non credo che sia in crisi, anche se i mass-media, come portatori di consensi, ci fanno vedere un mondo in cui la famiglia viene confusa con la coppia; un mondo in cui la crisi della coppia va saldata attraverso la coppia aperta e via via con una fuga dai problemi veri che portano, anche chi non vuole riflettersi in queste situazioni, ad uno stato di smarrimento in quanto si sente diverso ed emarginato dalle correnti mo-

de culturali.

In tale contesto la donna si pone in maniera contraddito ria, tanto che difficilmente riesce ad armonizzare in una uni ca completa esistenza, così da permetterle di esprimersi pie namente in queste tre esperienze della vita: la maternità,la famiglia,la società. Tali esperienze sono così importanti per una piena realizzazione della donna che, quanto più in ritar do verranno date delle risposte, tanto più difficilmente si potrà risolvere il problema della sua personale identità. Do po decenni di lotta, le donne non debbono più trovarsi di fron te al dilemma se lavorare o educare, dilemma riassunto sinte ticamente nei termini "focolari accessi", o "focolari spenti". La soluzione di tale problematica coinvolge anche quella del la condizione femminile, che passa attraverso un modo di es- sere diverso dal vivere nella famiglia, nell'organizzare il lavoro e la società.Ed èin questo senso che deve avvenire il cambiamento, se vogliamo che sia personalistico e comunita - rio; nel senso cioè di un superamento che recuperi una tota- le dimensione di donna come persona. Solo così il mutamento della sua condizione - toccando e passando attraverso tutte le politiche -può essere raggiunto.

Credo che per poter modificare il trend che si è avviato occorra puntare sia su una rivoluzione culturale, che su una scelta di ordine strategico. Dobbiamo dare la garanzia che su tutto si può discutere, ma non sul dovere primo di ricreare attorno alla famiglia uno spazio libero da violenze politi - che e private, tutelato e garantito proprio perchè possa svol gere il ruolo di base che la società le ha riconosciuto.

Considerando gli effetti che la legislazine abortista sta avendo nella società europea,quel che mi preme mettere in ri- lievo è il venir meno della difesa del diritto alla vita, è il diseducare la coppia a quelle scelte responsabili a cui deve essere affidata la procreazione, è il far pagare alle donne , sul piano fisico e psichico, il prezzo di una scelta che non è e non deve essere solo sua, ma anche dell'uomo e della socie- tà. Senza questa crescita del senso di responsabilità, che esi ge anche la capacità al sacrificio, come possiamo immaginare che le altre scelte, ugualmente importanti, per la famiglia , possano trovare la persona capace di assumerle? Dobbiamo dun- que promuovere una legislazione articolata e insieme complemen tare, capace di affrontare e di risolvere i singoli problemi, almeno per quanto attiene alla capacità e alla forza di inci- denza di quanti si richiamano a valori umani "naturaliter chri stiani" sia guardando alla donna come persona, sia alla fami - glia come comunità.

La famiglia non è entrata ancora pienamente, con i suoi di ritti-doveri e con i suoi problemi di adattamento, nel discor- si politico. E' vero, numerosi sono i provvedimenti singoli de stinati a favorire l'istituto familiare e la donna. Quello pe-

rà che deve essere posto come uno dei temi maggiori di una politica sistematica per il prossimo futuro, è appunto la funzione sociale della famiglia, valorizzando contemporaneamente la donna nelle sue capacità.

Come cristiani sappiamo di doversi misurare e scontrare , in questo impegno, con due filoni culturali e politici: quello radicale individualistico e quello marxista-collettivistico. Ma la difficoltà di questo confronto ci dà la misura della posta in gioco: se è vero,come diceva Papa Giovanni XXIII che uno dei segni dei nuovi tempi è il ruolo di protagonista che la donna va assumendo nella società di oggi, non è indifferente al futuro dell'umanità secondo quali valori la donna risolverà e sarà aiutata a risolvere i problemi che attengono alla sua condizione.

Vorrei ora esaminare, per sommi capi, la legislazione italiana intorno al problema donna e famiglia, mettendo in evidenza alcune contraddizioni di fondo sul piano dei valori,contraddizioni che mi pare siano presenti anche nella legislazione degli altri paesi europei.

1) Donna e famiglia

La legislazione si è messa su due binari. La riforma del diritto di famiglia ha riconosciuto alla donna pari responsabilità e gli stessi diritti dell'uomo, sia per quanto attiene la potestà sui figli, sia per quanto riguarda il regime patrimoniale comune dei beni. Nell'insieme il nuovo diritto di famiglia è finalizzato a creare le condizioni perchè la famiglia sia vissuta come una reale comunità, anche nei presupposti che attengono al rispetto di valori morali, come la fedeltà. Ugualmente vengono salvaguardati i diritti dei figli, anche di quelli nati fuori del matrimonio. Ma, in contraddizione con questa concezione, la legge che ha introdotto il divorzio, esalta il diritto alla felicità del singolo, sacrificando ad esso ogni diritto dell'altro coniuge, ed esonerando l'uno da ogni impegno verso l'altro, come se nella vita, e non solo nella famiglia, potesse permanere e saldarsi un rapporto autenticamente umano, in modo totalmente gratuito. Nella rinuncia ad ogni impegno,nel venir meno di ogni responsabilità assistiamo così non solo e non tanto ad un aumento del numero di divorzi, quanto alla rinuncia alla famiglia, per percorrere invece la strada delle unioni di fatto, che prescindono da ogni legittimazione religiosa o civile.

2) Consultori familiari e legislazione abortista

Concepiti come servizio al singolo e alla coppia, sia in relazione ai problemi della sessualità, come a quelli della procreazione responsabile, i consultori familiari stanno diventando in Italia, servizi cui si accede soprattutto per la certificazione che autorizza all'aborto. C'è qui una responsabilità di noi cristiani, per non aver assunto per tempo e in maniera significativa, questo grosso problema .

Non basta mettere in rilievo, gli effetti gravissimi della legge abortista, e non solo per il numero assai alto di aborti praticati, ma anche per le conseguenze negative che nel tempo la donna pagherà sul piano fisico e psichico, occorre soprattutto da parte nostra creare una rete vasta e qualificata di consultori familiari, attraverso i quali si possa essere in grado di aiutare la coppia a vivere una vita sessuale compatibile con una procreazione responsabile. Alcune rihieste fatte(vedi quelle in provincia di Brescia) mettono in rilievo come nella scelta dell'aborto, sia tutto un mondo di valori che viene meno, anche quando ci si continua a dichiarare cattolici e praticanti.

3) Donna, maternità, lavoro

Il problema della donna e della maternità è stato affrontato anche da un insieme di leggi, a partire da quella che tutela la lavoratrice madre. Con essa si è garantito alla donna un congedo obbligatorio per parto di cinque mesi (esteso anche a chi adotta un bambino), durante il quale la lavoratrice conserva la retribuzione, e poi un congedo facoltativo, che può arrivare fino al compimento del primo anno di età del bambino, con il 30 per cento della retribuzione. Fino a quando il bambino compie il terzo anno di età, in caso di malattia certificata, uno dei due genitori può assentarsi dal lavoro per assisterlo, senza alcuna retribuzione. Ugualmente, si è creata una rete di asili nido visti come complementari e non sostitutivi della famiglia. Ma perchè la famiglia possa veramente scegliere, occorre ripensare alla funzione degli assegni familiari, in termini quantitativi. Visto cioè l'alto costo dell'asilo nido, pare opportuno offrire alla donna che rimanga in casa un assegno più congruo di quanto non sia attualmente, almeno in Italia.

Va esteso anche il diritto di accedere al contratto a part-time, occorre meglio sperimentare gli orari flessibili e più in generale è necessario rimeditare, anche in relazione ai servizi, lo stesso ruolo dell'uomo nella famiglia e nella società.

E' dunque tutta la politica, come dicevo all'inizio, che va diversamente finalizzata: dall'urbanistica, agli spazi di verde, dalla politica della casa a quella dei trasporti, dal problema degli orari dei negozi a quello dei servizi.

Il tema donna e famiglia è dunque un tema che sembra riguardare la donna: in realtà esso coinvolge valori così profondi, che dalla sua soluzione dipenderà in larga misura la qualità del nostro domani.

Klaus SCHLEICHER

Education in the formation and development of the Family

I. Endorsement of an education for family life:

Until recently there had been little realization that the human, social and financial costs of an undesired, poorly brought-up and heavily disadvantaged child or a wrecked, split and isolated family is higher than maladjustment or failure in the vocational field. Thus there are very diversified, well established and publicly financed programs for vocational training and career education but comparatively poorly encouraged, developed and aided programs for family education.

Nevertheless there is an increasing awareness of the importance of education in the formation and development of the family. It evolved for two almost contradictory reasons.

On the one hand efforts for an education for family life followed from the intention to safeguard social aims, as e.g. equality of opportunity or socialistic values versus family socialization. Thus family or parent programs were developed in order compensate for structural problems or ideological deviations of the family (cf/ Olin-Lauritzen, s., 1980, s.6).

On the other hand attention was paid to the family, because our highly specialized., alienated and efficiency oriented society tends to dissolve in a rather problematic way: holistic continuons and human life experience. Thus an education for family life was racommended, because the family still offers a certain balance between personal needs and satisfactions, a minimum of continuous identity, intimacy and reability and takes place in practical life-definitions and solutions. (Schleicher, K. 1972; - Mollenhauer, K., 1978).

Generally education for family life or parentcraft is all the more promoted in Eastern and Western countries since the mid-nineteenseventies:

- because early childhood education focussed on basic family -socialization procedures and research pointed towards the importance of living styles before and after conception(Stott, L.H., 1970, s.18ff.; - Birch, H-G /et.al.1970; -Crellin, E/et al. 1971)
- because there is less confidence in the social welfare state, in social 'engineering', in compensatory strategies and school curricula, for they did not reduce social erosion as expected (Bronfenbrenner, U., 1974 and 1976; - Weikart D.P., 1975)
- and because a rising divorce and abortion rate as well as an increasing number of pregnant girls under age (Lane Report, 1974, Vol. II, pag.17,19, Vol. III, pag.8) and isolated old people (Hadley, R./et.al., 1975, pag.83 ff) burd end society with increasing human problems.

II. Development of an education for family life:

Within the last five years education for parent-craft and family life is strongly advocated i.e. by Poland, England, and the Council of Europe since 1975. (Ministerium für Volksbildung, 1976; Maciaszkowa, J., 1977; Europarat, cmf 76) Although its meaning may either be seen in the primary interest of the child or family or society - according to cultural and ideological differences - there are some overall trends which can be stated:

1. education for parenthood originally happened - and to a large extent still happens - within the family. This immanent education was gradually supplemented by adult education activities since Pestalozzi (Pestalozzi, j.H. , 1940[2]). In the last years it has now increasingly been recognized, that there exists quite a breach between the needs of the family on the one hand and the structure as well as self-comprehension of adult education on the other hand. Therefore a strong demand emerged for decentralized and self-help oriented family programs. (Ahrens,B., 1977; - Cloer, E., 1979) .
2. In addition, education for family life was - and to a large extent still is -geared: either towards young girls in schools (cf. the development of the domestic sciences and of home economics) or towards motivated middle-class

mothers (cf. the "Mütterschulen" in Germany since 1916). It was not until the mid-nineteensixties that attempts were made to incorporate men, working class families and families with special needs.

3. As far as didactics and methods of family education are concerned, a certain consensus emerged over the last decade: The dissemination of information should a least consider cultural values, situational conditions and emotional relationships of the learning group. An even greater meaning was awarded to the extension of disposing and problem solving capacities as well as to team-abilities, group-dynamics (e.g. theme-centered-interaction), self-realization and the supplement of organizational 'come-structures' by decentralized 'go-structures'. Altogether there is a change from patronizing compensations towards building up the motivation, experience and knowledge of the participants. (Langefild, J., 1978; - Cohn, R.C., 1975).

4. Generally there is more and more awareness that education for family life can on longer concentrate on any one method and age group but that it has to pay special attention: to critical experience-periods and marginal learning-capacities as far as family affairs are concerned. While marginal learning-capacities are quite dependent on familiar, situational and subcultural conditions, as critical experience-periods appear to be: The years after puberty, the time of pregnancy, the phase after two became three and whenever children enter into new levels of educational institutions.

Altogether there is an increasing awareness in Eastern as well as Western countries:

- that education for family life has to interrelate educational and preventive strategies;
- that it has to be dealt with by quite different organizations (e.g. schools, counselling agencies, maternities and child health services) whose activities are difficult to coordinate:
- and that an education for family life is the more important: the better it is acquainted with family needs the earlier it supports family attitudes and the wider its contacts are to different social strata. (Olin-Lauritzen, S., 1980, s.18 ff).

III. Schools participation in an education for family life:

Since most organizations only get involved with a small fraction of families and after family attitudes and problems are consolidated, there is a strong call upon schools for a propaedeutic family education.

Thus the European ministers concerned with family affairs recommended e.g. in1976 simultaneously: to put parent participation in Kindergarten and school on a wider basis, and to develop pedagogical means as well as school-syllabi to prepare youngsters for parental tasks and family life. (Europarat, cmf 76 and cmf 77; - Macbeth, A. /et. al. 1980).

This turn towards the school entails new challenges to the educational concept for family life. The possibilities and limitations of a school-education for family life are e.g. strongly influenced:

- by the preceding experience and comprehension capacity of the child:
- by the immanent structure of the school and by the competency of the teacher;
- by school administration and/or examination-boards caring for content, didactics and procedures of family education;
- and indirectly certainly by public opinions and values concerned with certain family functions.

How differently family education can be approached in view of these influences may easily be seen from a few examples.

1. School effort toward preparation for family life changed e.g. tremendously under the influence of public opinion in the last 20 years. First it was in accordance with the public mood that family affairs were either discussed from a rather practical or from a sociological point of view - if at all. Thus, the family was almost part of the domestic science or civics curriculum. Then sex-education came into being under the impact of the student revolt, the women's liberation movement and the new abortion regulations (cf. Kultusministerkonferenz, 1968; - Dietrich,K.'75[2]) The originally rather narrow concept was supplemented by two other overlapping trends. On the one hand the newly established courses in 'pedagogics', which at first should meet the shortage of teachers, merged into syllabi of 'chil development' and/or 'family education' (Achtenhagen, Fr/et. al. 1971; - Allhin,W.B , 1973). On the other hand there was a reevaluation of the family and its socialization since it was evident that compensatory strategies were rather inffective unless they supported and incorporated the families (Schleicher, K., 1975; - Kifer, E, 1975). - Thus the endorsement of an education for family life today offers quite an opportunity to integrate the different elements into a more holistic and less fashionable concept.

2. As important as public opinions are administrative and governmental procedures for the establishment of an education for family life in school. There appears to be quite a difference if education for family life is promoted by central political agencies or if it is in the hands of individual schools. While the ministry of education in Nordrhein-Westfalen (Germany) developed e.g. a sixth-form syllabus on 'pedagogics and child de

velopment' in 1971 and Poland made education for family life compulsory for all schools children in 1975 (Ministerium für Volksbildung, 1976)- the English development strongly depended on the initiative and interest of children, teachers, heads and examination boards. Consequently, in England there are only a few concerned people involved but the teaching is quite adjusted to environmental conditions and children's motivation.Certainly more children could be incorporated in a quicker way into new subject areas by centralized decisions but it is in question if more formal and quantitative endeavour pay.

3. The possibilities and limitations of an education for family life are not only dependent on administrative procedures but on the structure of the school and the psychological development of the children too.

   A school situation with highly specilized, uncoordinated and analytical syllabi on the one hand and with a lesson-oriented, competitive climate on the other, is not up to modern didactics of family education (see above II.3) and can hardly cope with the private and comples family experience of the children.

   It is more than doubtful: if a traditional teaching concerned with family life can make up for children's day by day experience within their family and environment ; furthermore, if an education for family life in the last years of schooling - when teenagers try to emancipate themselves from the family - makes a difference. For international research shows quite clearly: that children's attitudes towards politics, vocation careers and familiar value patterns are continuously built up over the years (Hyman, H.H., 1959; - Torney, J.V./et al.,1975; Schleicher K., 1979), and that the family socialization influences the variance in subject-achievements more strongly than e.g. the schoold (Postlethwaite, N.T. 1975; - Coleman,J. S., 1975).

   So, school structures, teaching methods and developmental processes of children have more thoroughly to be considered, if an education for family life is demanded.

IV. Recommendations in regard to the endorsement for an education for family life

Altogether there is some agreement in Eastern and Western countries of Europe:

- that education for family life is very important to protect individual rihts, to safeguard social aims and to limit human costs;
- that different strategies have to be applied according to

developmental conditions, different motivation and sub-cultures;
. and that the school can play an important although only a limited role unless there are major changes in school administration, in learning climate and extra-mural contacts.

If the school wants to be an important factor in the formation and development of the family, it schould try:

. to develop pupils' ability to make satisfactory relationships with young children, parents and adults within the community;
. to encourage the pupils' awareness of the needs and responsabilities of parents and other members of the family;
. to make students acquainted with the prerequisites and consequences of marriage and parenthood;
. and to expand their understanding of problems posed by the rapidly changing society on family life.

Altogether the sexual health and domestic science education have to be incorporated in a far wider and more humain family education.

Certainly an education for family life should be more than a propaedeutic education and it should not exist of information on the family only. It should be relevant to the student's own situation and extend his problem-solving and disposing capacities. Therefore it appears to be necessary:

. to interrelate school-, family- and environmental reality and cooperation (e.g. by parent participation and outdoor experiences),
. to bridge the horizontal shielding of age-groups (e.g.by pupils' participation in play-groups or in homes for the aged);
. to develop concepts which safeguard a teaching continuity over the years and which are related to the pupils' changing needs and experiences;
. and to offer to the student a variety of chances for probing his own disposing capacity.

Altogether the schoold has to play an important role in the education for family life: because school years have been extended that more and more youngsters are in the position of parents immediately after school. Education for family life therefore needs similar attention within - and support from outside the school than career education. But, to be successful, the schoold has to venture new strategies (e.g. as used in adult education) and has to experience wider learning environments (e.g. cross-age-grouping and resources based learning) - even if it has to change some of the traditional school structures.

Generally more experience and research is needed to testify e.g.:

- wheter education for family life really should be concentrated on the last years of schooling or perhaps be expanded to vocational training periods and the military service (as e.g. in Finland);

- what kind of parent-involvement, teacher training and co-operation with counselling services or paediatricians is needed;
- and how far any kind of family education is finally dependent on positive attitudes of the media and public opinion towards the family.

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Nicholas COOTE

Social and Counselling Services

In 1960 a committee appointed in the United Kingdom to report on children and young people (the Ingleby Committe) declared: "the state's principle duty is to assist the family in carrying out its proper function. This should be done in the first instance by the provision of facilities such as housing, healt services and education, - and some greater and more specialised help through the welfare services".

In 1970 the statutory social services carried out by the local (public) authorities were re-organised along the lines suggested by the (for us) famous Seebohm report. In the place of services organised seperately according to client groups (such as children) all were grouped together under the principle of so called generic social work: welfare services in the form of "a community based and family orientated service" were to be available to all. For an effective family based service, the report hoped also for a public authority provided network of "counselling in particularly difficult marital problems" though this was in practice not achieved. A variety of voluntary bodies continued to provide counselling services, funded to a large extent through public money. Only the probation service through its divorce court work, was, somewhat inappropriately involved in conciliation work. Much more recently, and on a pilot basis, such conciliation work was changed into reconciling the divorcing partners to relinquishing their marriage without adv

ersarial argument over rights of custody and access to the children, and other painful matters.

Finally, if you will allow a third quotation to cover the priod 1960-1980, Pinker in his book "The Idea of Welfare" published last year says:

"With regard to services of a personal caring nature..... the underlying assumption appears to be that it is a desidera - ble end of social policy that stable family structures should be sustained when in peril, and restored whenever possible if they should suffer dissolution, and furthermore that the great majority of citizens share this objective" (R.Pinker The Idea of Welfare, Heinemann, London 1979).

So there we have it. Social services are to be family orientated and completed by marital counselling services. The State has a fundamental obligation to discharge these services, and at least funds them substantially. The general public agrees on the policy aims of preserving the family I have no doubt that these quotations and developments can be paralleled in most Western European countries,over more or less the same time span. In some there will perhaps have been more emphasis on the functions of the State in controlling, funding, or carrying out services. However, with the prevaling monetarist stance re-affirmed in the recent Venice summit, I imagine that fovernments will be very ready to put aside the claim that voluntary services are merely residual since this is particularly onerous in terms of public spending. Indeed a fruitful partnership between statutory and non-statutory social services is actually capable of providing equally adequate, innovative, or flexible service at lower cost to public purse - whereas diminutions in public spending on social security or changed tax structures have an immediate and deleterious effect.

Some people, too, would wish to add to the outline of social services sketched out, more emphasis on the preventive and educative side of counselling and social care, rather than on the prevalent therapeutic, rehabilitative, crisis,- intervention model of action. Nevertheless, since it seems to be generally admitted that there is a crisis in the institution and lives of families, the longer term prevention measures, so difficult to evaluate , cannot be allowed to dispace the meeting of the immediate need of people at risk.

If then, we are trying to urge cause of a social policy in favour of the family, it is certainly helpful if we believe that there is consensus about the objectives of this policy (I do not think that in the context of social services it is a vaild objection to say that the intention is too materialistic. Nor in the field of counselling can one insist on the inculcation of a particular value system in a pluralist society which demands non-directive counselling - though values clearly underwrite counselling - which makes the variety of agencies concerned both understandable, and perhaps, desirable. Let us remember that here we are urging public policies which must have clear aims and prefe-

rably unambiguous objectives). It is true that there is less consensus on the social benefits/tax structure side, where changes reflect changed attitudes towrds single parent families, and towards the role of women in the family. But the social service/counselling aim of sustaining and restoring stable family structure seems agreed, so it only remains to mobilise public opinion.

This may turn out to be more of a task than might to thought. Unlike a strike of railwaymen, elecricity workers, sewage workers, firemen or nurses, a strike of social workers does not bring a country to a grinding halt, or appear to offer immediate danger to life or limb. After a strike of local authority social workers in Britain last year, there was some talk perhaps their work was not all that necessary or effective any way. Considerable information gathering, analysis, and persuasion is required to bring to light the extent to which family life was injured among those families most unable to cope, and to reveal the way in which the dangers were obviated by the work of voluntary agencies or even strikers themselves working on the quiet.

In spite of this difficulty with public opinion, governments are open to persuasion. In recent years the economic argument of the savings which can be made through community care as opposed to institutional care, fits in neatly with the increased dislike or institutionalisation of children, old people, handicapped people, and delinquents. Community care, in most cases, means family care or quasi family care. The costs of fostering children, or maintaining handicapped people in a family setting, or keeping at home old people who do not need to be admitted to an instituon, all compare very favourably with institutional costs.

Of course there is a danger in the argument that integration in the community is cheaper. It tempts government to close the institutions and burden still further the families which provide the major caring service, withought giving increased domiciliary services in compensation, respite facilities etc. (and not just cash benefits). The cost argument also tends to overlook the costs of the services or facilities which indirectly assist the family in its care for its handicapped, truanting, elderly, mentally ill or other "problem" members (environmental, transport, supervisory, leisure, out-patient services etc.). To the extent that social caring is placed on families as an obligation, and to the extent that social policy underlines the suitability of the family as a suitable locus for care, to that extent <u>at least</u>, a family is entitled to the necessary means to carry out its functions.

If we continue to speak of the family and its function(s) without further qualification, we come up against a problem which makes it impossible to be satisfied with an all-out push for family policy, in so far as it involves urging more generous spending on social services and counselling, to support and sustain the family.It is claimed by some that

"the welfare industry.....is in the course of destroying the very institutions it is intended to rescue and preserve, the family - that is to say the family of official welfare po-

licy in France and in Britain se well as in the United States" (Peter Laslett reviewing The Policing of Families by Jacques Danzelot).

The most obvious sense in which the accusation is made is that welfare services de-skill people, rather like excessive dependence on convience foods causes people to lose, and fail to pass on, the skills of cooking. People are said to be incapable or frightened of coping with difficult care demands. I do not think this is true, except in the sense that outsiders may be nervous of lending a hand (but that also has something to do with privacy as much as lack of skill). It is also the case that there are more problems to cope with (the survival of severely handicapped children, of frail, demented, incontinent elderly people, increasing numbers; the changes in attitudes and behaviour of young people including peer group disrespect, revolt and delinquent behaviour). But none of these problems were caused by failure of family skills; they damand more, not less outside help. Similarly in the marital relationship changed expectations, not outside counselling services, have undermined peoples confidence. Or are we to think that the existence of sex education courses has somehow deskilled practitioners of the art of sexual relations?

A more serious attack on social welfare (and I leave aside the question of what effects financial benefits and benefits in kind may have on people) is that social welfare services have not so much deskilled as demotivated people. Again I think the change is rejected by writers of authority, particularly in the field of care for dependents (e.g. Moroney in his book The Family and the State - Considerations for social policies). People continue to look after the vast majority of elderly, handicapped and juvenile dependents; they do so out of duty, if sometimes accompanied by strain or reluctance. A very small percentage are "abandoned" to institutional care, and then usually with guilt, and disapproval from others. This author, (Maroney) also to an extent disputes the common generalisation that the isolated nuclear family is the sole successor to the traditional extended family, and is thus less capable of assuming the burden of care.

The most fundamental attack on the effects of social welfare services is that they have literally dis-integrated the family. Writers speak of "a process by which families have lost their own, spontaneous, immemorial autonomy, and had their membership, especially their children, removed from their control and placed under the collectivity". This is more false than true. Families never had spontaneous autonomy: the authority of parents and the ability to take decisions, by and large, derived from the attitudes of traditional societies and these constituted highly restrictive norms of permissable behaviour. Furthermore there is a difference between the 3 processes of:

. removing and taking into care abandonned, neglected or ill-treated dependents at risk through the violence, callousness or over-strain of parents, spouses and relatives.
. reducing total patriarchal, or parental autonomy.
. laying on families requirements with regard to stndards and conditions of education, health, accommodation.

To oppose the class of emergency intervention, on principle, and in the name of family autonomy, would be indefensible. The second class of change is less a reduction of family autonomy then a recognition of rights to personal development within the family, an acknowledgement of the reasonable requirement for womens' and childrens' rights, the growth of which may be conciously fostered through counselling as through the general influence of attitudes in the surrounding society. The third process of reducing family autonomy is an obvious example of how the State regulates the mutual obligations of the family and the wider community.

There is a certain artificiality in regarding some particular functions the sole or main reality which constitutes the essence of the family preserved over against the community (and this is not the same as over against the State). Just as it is notoriously difficult to say what was, and is, "a family" in terms of members, so it is difficult to define it in terms of what it does or has done in the past (even more confusing if it is thought of as what it is or was, for). Even when many of the functions have changed it may still be said to be the family, changed but not abolished, reduced in the functions it accomplishes but still there. In a Council of Europe document on Marriage Guidance and Family Counselling produced in 1974, we read:

"The process of economic and social modernisation has affected the family almost to the point of transforming this basic social unit into a secondary institution. Individuals now depend more and more on alternative social institutions.From being the primary source of social values the family tends to be almost "tolerated" in contemporary economically developed societies. It is no longer a self-sufficient psychological unit: its members receive stimuli from many different sources. For instance, the lessening of the taboos concerning pre - and extra - marital sexual experience has greatly reduced the emotional dominance of the family. Fundamental education is now achieved from outside the family from the earliest age. Family values such as "respect", veneration", "kinship" are now replaced by sel-determined values such as "affinity", "friendship", ideological or political "similitude".

(Social Co-operation in Europe: Marriage Guidance and Family Counselling - Report prepared by a Study Group for the Council of Europe 1974).

While the contrast between the past "basic social unit" and the present "secondary institution" is perhaps somewhat overdrawn, the point is that the relationship between society and the family is one of osmosis. Therefore change in the family is to be expected just as it occurs in society. In a sense there is not a crisis in the family in the sense that the family way of caring, relating, procreating is in danger of disappearing. It is certainly changing but it remains the majority choice.

In spite of unmarried cohabitation, including that of

stable homosexual couples who are caring for children; in spite of promoscuity, in spite of abortion, in spite of divorce rates; the overwhelming majority still choose marriage as the framework of procreation and child-rearing and accept responsibility for the care of their elders , children and other dependents.

This is not to deny that an ideal family life cannot be held up as an example (or even upheld!) This however is a matter of prescription, not description and if the prescriptive loses touch with the descriptive, it loses force. In a society with various cultures and value systems, including non-Christian religious values as well as humanist or materialist values, when we speak of "paying homage to the family" or of supporting a family policy, we have to pay attention to what we mean, and on what level we are taking and acting.

Dario FERTILIO

Famiglia e mass media

Non c'è dubbio la famiglia è la grande assente. Giornali, radio e tv continuano imperterriti da anni ad ignorarla. Non è cattiva volontà, ma qualcosa di più complesso. Da un lato, i giornalisti non sono abituati, e probabilmente preparati, ad affrontare il problema della famiglia. Forse perchè è un pianeta delle troppe sfaccettature. Forse perchè un certo progressismo di maniera teme di sporcarsi le mani con questa entità vagamente conservatrice e legata al passato. Infine, perchè la famiglia "non fa notizia".

Si è diffusa dunque un'immagine parziale, evanescente della famiglia. Lettori, ascoltatori e spettatoti vi sono ormai talmente abituati da non supporre nemmeno la possibilità di una "rottura". Della famiglia arrivano infatti al grande pubblico immagini frammentarie, legate a situazioni particolari, a bisogni immediati, a "diritti civili". Conquistano spazio sulle prime pagine dei quotidiani i casi pietosi: bimbi senza papà che aspettano le medicine, ex orfanelli contesi dalla madre naturale o da quella adottiva. Oppure si esaltano i "bisogni" familiari: divorzio più o meno facile, aborto più o meno permesso, lavoro nero più o meno praticato. Infine, se proprio si vuole tentare il punto di vista "culturale", si sottolineano i cambiamenti, le mode, soprattutto si parla e riparla di "crisi della amiglia" . Quando non si arriva a definirla un pezzo di antiquariato.

Questo mi sembra un quadro obiettivo della situazione. Sarebbe inutile incolpare qualcuno di questa distorsione . Nè si possono stilare pagelle di giornalisti "buoni" e "cattivi", nè si può sottoporre a un corso accelerato di politica familiare tutta la categoria. E' invece necessario prendere atto di una assenza: troppo poco, nella marea dei messaggi, si è sentita la voce dei giornalisti che credono nel valore della famiglia. La distorsione e frammentazione è avvenuta anche a causa della prevalenza di punti di vista parziali del problema. Un approccio marxista, o uno liberal-radicale, non possono esaurire una realtà così complessa.E la famiglia non si può ridurre nè a unità di produzione, nè a luogo di sfruttamento, nè a fascio di diritti individuali . La famiglia può essere presentata come valore socilae e soggetto politico. Se, come è avvenuto in Italia, si minaccia da parte dei professori un blocco degli esami, si deve ammettere la famiglia al tavolo delle trattative. Se si discute dello stipendio alle casalinghe o del lavoro a tempo parziale, devono poter parlare gli interessati attraverso i loro rappresentanti. Questa posizione di rottura rispetto ai modelli attuali, è riservata alle forze cristiane, o comunque di ispirazione religiosa? No, nessuno potrebbe vantare un simile monopolio, ma sarebbe assurdo negare che la spinta principale debba venire da questa fondamentale "anima" della società europea. All'interno dei massi media, si possono studiare iniziative di appoggio. Uno sforzo di sensibilizzazione per uniformare le politiche familiari nella CEE, ad esempio potrebbe essere avviata dalla Associazione dei giornalisti europei.

Ma resta una valutazione di fondo, credo la più importtante di tutte. Sui mass-media si può intervenire solo fino a un certo limite. Esistono leggi ben precise che regolano nei Paesi democratici, il mercato delle notizie. Sono le leggi del cambiamento a imporsi sulla carta stampata e nell'etere, non quelle della conservazione. Sono le forze capaci di porsi come soggetti politici a conquistare la fetta più cospicua di questo mercato. Le forze culturali, politiche , sociali, religiose decise a promuovere una nuova immagine della famiglia non possono sperare di farlo attraverso decreti . Ma solo studiando forme di intervento capaci di contendere ad altri il ruolo di soggetto.

Michael P. FOGARTY

How a family policy is born: the case of Britain

Britain is one of those countries which have not hitherto had a family policy as that is usually understood, but is at present discovering the need for one. I would like to present as a case history the reasons why this is happening and the forms which the new development is taking.

Family policy - a gap in the Welfare State

Britain does of course have a highly developed welfare state, and this includes many provisions directed specifically to the family. The fiscal and social security systems have for generations made allowances for family dependants. A separate system of family allowances was introduced after the second World War, and a Family Income Supplement for low earners was added in the 1970's. Municipal housing programmes have always been geared to family needs, though, their critics have argued, not always very perceptively.

Local authority personal social services were reorganised at the end of the 1960's specifically to provide " a community-based and family orientated service" (1). There are small

but efficient marriage counselling services, independent but assisted through government and local authority grants. The National Health Service provides among other things maternity and child welfare clinics and services for family planning and abortion, and one of its main sectors is revealingly titled "family practitioner services". Family law, as everywhere, regulates marriage, divorce and its consequences for family finance and the family home, inheritance, and the individual rights of family members, including issues such as domicile and the protection of children. And so on - these are simply examples.

What has been missing, however, is the cement binding these individual provisions together. They have arisen one by one in response to particular needs. What there has not been hitherto is a general family policy in the sense of a coherent view of the functioning and needs of families, with administrative arrangements to ensure that the impact of social and economic policies on and through families - the "family perspective" - is taken systematically into account, both wichin individual departments of central and local government and across departmental lines.

Towards the end of the 1970's the need for a family in this sense began to surface in Britain. The change was obvious to anyone involved in discussion of social security, fiscal policy, education or the social services. In the run-up to the General Election of 1979 the leaders of both main political parties went out of their way to underline their commitment to the family and its central role in their policies. What precisely this commitment meant remained rather vague, but there was no mistaking the emergence of a new accent. The family dimension in economic and social policies had been neglected, and this neglect needed to be made good.

Why the need for a family policy is now being felt

Why did this happen. Without trying to assign precise weights, one can distinguish several contributing factors. The point in all cases is that these are factors whose importance grew and became increasingly recognised in the 1970's. This happened separately in each field, but as one trend was added to another it became more and more obvious that they were ponting to a common issue: general under-estimation in recent decades of the family as a focus for policy, and failure to give the "family perspective" systematic and adequate consideration.

One very influential factor has been the increase in family poverty, in the sense particularly of under-provision for families with children. Financial support for families was not a popular cause in the 1950's and 1960's nor one which politicians rushed to defend. One lesson which I myself rather quickly learnt as a politician was that family allowances were not a good issue to raise when canvassing electors on the doorstep:

it was safer to stick to pensions. The consequences are neatly captured in the reply to a Parliament question by a Conservative MP in March 1980, (2). Since 1955, when a previous Conservative government had been in office, the tax-free allowance for an unmarried income tax payer had risen in constant money by 47%, and the social security pension for a married couple by 102%. But the tax allowance for a married couple had risen only by 33%, and the combined value of tax allowances and family allowances for the children in a two-child family had actually fallen by 25%.

Other changes, meantime, were in any case warsening the comparison between the standard of living of young couples, particularly if they had children under school age, and that of families in general. There was a revolution in housing tenure and a rapid increase in owner-occupation, which under existing systems of financing house purchase has meant a particularly heavy burden for young families at the start of their first mortage. The rapid increase in the proportion of married women who are in employment has meant that the standard of living of couples with children under age 5, still normally with one partner not in employment, now compares much less favourably with that of families at later stages than in the days - as recently as the early 1950's - when it was normal for older as well as younger married women not to be earning. The spread of divorce has brought about a rapid increase in the number of lone-parent families, in which, so long as there are pre-school children, not even one parent may be available for work.

These changes have worked to the disadvantage of families with children at all income levels. What has however particularly been hammered home by social research workers, and by pressure groups such as the Child Poverty Action Group, is their effect in pushing the standard of living of an increasing proportion of families with children down to and below the officially recognised poverty line, the income level which gives entitlement to means-tested supplementary benefit.This message has registered on the political Right as well as the Left. One symtom of this was a substantial revolt by Conservative MP's in the Budget debates of 1980, against their own government's proposal to adjust child benefit - which has now replaced child tax allowances and family allowances - by less than the amount of inflaction.

Another factor has been concern about the family as a caring unit, with particular reference to the elderly and the disabled. A certain mythology has grown up about this, a widespread belief that families have increasingly and unnecessarily discharged their caring responsibilities on to the State, and in any case are less and less able to fulfill them because geographical mobility, divorce, the fall in the number of unmarried women and of children for family, and the employment of older women have made the extended family ineffective as a source of care. Social research shows something different (3). In the case for example of the elderly, families remain a principal source of care and contacts, and, as parents grow older ,

family members often make considerable efforts to re-house themselves so as to make this geographically possible. Thanks to the maintenance of family (and neighbours') care and to improved pensions and housing and domiciliary services for the elderly, the proportion of the elderly in institutional care in the 1970's was less than half what it had been before the first World War, and tendency has increasingly been to delay institutional care until disability makes it essential.

There has nevertheless been a justified feeling that the personal social services in Britain have not done enough to organise themselves to assist family and neighbourhood care as distinct from providing services directly. Progress towards the aim of creating a "community based and family orientated service" has been disappointing. One reason, as some critics see it, is that local authority social services have remained too exclusively orientated to particular categories of client rather than to families or communities as such. Another has been the need to give priority to the policing and protective work of social workers, in the light of urgent and notorious cases of child abuse and of failure to reach other emergencies in time. Whatever the reason, the case for taking up again the effort to re-orient the personal social services towards working with and through families and local communities has increasingly been recognised in the personal social services themselves. Some interesting experiments have followed, for exemple with assigning social workers to a "patch" or small local community rather than to a more or less specialised case load of individual clients, or with the use of semi-voluntary - part-paid - care by neighbours. The case for moving in this direction has been underlined by cuts since the middle of the 1970's in public expenditure, which have fallen particularly heavily on the personal social services and reduced their resources for direct intervention.

A third major reason for new thinking about the family perspective has been changes in relationships within the family itself. In this case it is less easy to point to any consensus about what in recent trends is right or wrong or what new policies are needed. There are one or two areas of hot dispute, but the main point is that in many others there is a combination of uncertainty and unease. The issues here are best put as a question; where are all these changes in the family leading, and should we or should we not leave them to take their course?

One factor here has been the break-up of traditional models of sex roles, combined with an increase in the level and range of activities both inside and outside the family expected of both women and men: in other words the problem of family time budgest, or, as an East German social scientist has put it, of "time for free time" (4). One aspect of this is of course the movement of married women into employment. The mothers of very young children are still likely not to be in employment - 79% of those with children under 3 were not earning in 1978 - but among mothers with children aged between 10 and 15 the proportion in employment in that year was

64%. But this is only one aspect. Research since the 1960's has documented the advantages, problems, and strains (varying among other things with the stage of a family's life cycle) which arise on the side of both family and career from the movement towards a dual career or "symmetrical" pattern of sex roles, and also the increasing mutual interference between work, leisure, and home activies in the case of men as well as women, particularly in higher educated and qualified groups (5). It has also shown the extent to which the time budget problem is still regarded as a women's rather than a joint question,and the limited progress made in solving women's family and career problems in spite of formal provisions such as the Sex Discrimination Act of 1975 (6) . In all this area it is possible to point in Britain today to facts, trends, and questions, but not to coherent policy aims. Britain does not have the degree of consensus on the patterns of family living and work organisation at which to aim which is found, for example, in Sweden.

The breakdown and distruption of families is another area where there is unease, but few clear ideas about the direction in which to move next. Among women born in 1926,2.9% were divorced by age 30, but among those born in 1946 this proportion reached 9.5%. Re-marriage has also risen rapidly but so nevertheless, has the number of lone-parent families: between 1961 and 1976 from a quarter to three quarters of a million. Besides the consequences for the partners and their children, these trends are expensive to the State. The bill for supplementary benefit arising out of divorce and separation is probably in 1980 running around L.600,000,000 a year (7). A recent comparison of these experience in Britain of Asian and native British families raise some sharp questions about the adequacy of British policies for forestalling and avoiding the breakdown of marriages (8). The incidence of breakdown in Asian marriages is a fraction - not more than one-fifth, if so much - of that in native British marriages, and Asian respondents tend to be critical of what they see as the tendency of British lawyers and social workers to move directly towards assisting a divorce; instead of negotiating, with help from the extended family, towards restoration. Even marriage counselling agencies have tendend, as a recent official report put it, to move "from marriage mending to marriage counselling",(9) and have had too few resources to move much beyond crisis counselling or to develop educational and preventive work among families in middle and older age groups.(10)

It might be expected that changes in sexual behaviour would figure largely in a list of the factors influencing new thinking about family policy, for in Britain in recent years they have been dramatic. Fertility fell through the 1970's to below replacement rates, though with signs of an upturn towards the end of the decade. The traditional ban on pre-marital intercourse has collapsed. Among women marrying t ages up to 24, the proportion who reported intercourse with their husband before marriage was 28% in the first half of

the 1950's and 75% in the first half of the 1970's, and in 1978/9 67% of women and 74% of men aged 19 stated that they were sexually experienced. Contraception has become general. By 1975 only 12% of ever-married "fecund" women under 41 who were not pregnant nor trying to conveive failed to use some form of fertility control, and the great majority used contraception rather than the safe period or withdrawal. Abortion was fully legalised in 1967, and there has been a major change in the legal position of homosexuals.

Actually, however, this is onecase where changes in the family have, with one exception, produced remarkably little reaction. The one hotly debated area is abortion. For the rest, there may well be questions for the future, but reactions which might effect public policy are for the moment small. Contraception is approved by a majority even of practising Catholics and so among younger Catholics is re-marriage after divorce. In May 1980 the first National Pastoral Congress of English and Welsh Catholics called for reconsideration of the Church's policy in these areas (11). Fertility decline and the possible dangers of an ageing population were an issue in Britain in the 1930's and 1940's (12), but the decline of the 1970's tendend if anything to be welcomed in a country where there is a widerspread belief that population could with advantage be reduced.

The educational role of the family, on the other hand, is an issue which has revived in new forms. Down to the second World War one hot political issue was the claim of Anglican and Catholic parents to State support for schools of their own denomination: the question, as opponents used to say before 1914, of "Rome on the rates". That issue has since subsided, though it came up again in a modest way in connection with the present Conservative government's expenditure cuts, which some local authorities translated into a super-out in the school transport subsidy for children living at long distance from the nearest school of their denomination. But two other issues have come to the fore. One is about parents' right to choose on general educational grounds between scholls within their geographical range, and to have a range of types of school to choose from. The other is what many observers of British education see as the inadequate link between the educational roles of the school and the family, and under-utilisation both of families' own capacity to educate - particularly in the case of parents who are themselves less educated - and of the possibilities of co-operation between parents and teachers. That raises a range of further issues, from parents' right to elect representative to school governing bodies to -currently a very hot issue indeed for the teachers' trade unions - the re-definition of teachers' duties outside the classroom.

The physical planning of communities in the light of family need is another area where discussion in recent years has taken a new turn. Town and country planning, with related issues of housing and transport, has always been oriented

towards family needs. The concept of the neighbourhood unit, for exemple, has a long history in British town planning.The new turn has come from two sources. Firstly, under the influence of the car, local transport patterns and the physical distribution of shopping, leisure, and other facilities have developed so as to put at a disadvantage wives in single-car families, children and the elderly or disabled, and families without a car who wish to use leisure or other facilities as a family unit. Several recent reports have high-lighted this problem and its implications for future planning (13). Secondly, changing patterns of family and household formation, including changes in the age and probability of marriage, fertility, divorce and the number and independence of the elderly and the very elderly, have required reconsideration of housing needs and housing administration. One illustration is the fact that between 1931 and 1977 one and two person households rose from 29% to 54% of all houseolds in Britain, and the proportion of households with more than four members fell from 28% to 11%.

One other consideration which has not been very significant hitherto, but may acquire more importance in the current climate of economic policy in Britain, is about the value of family networks for the creation and development of small businesses. There is today in Britain a new interest in the potential of small businesses, in reaction from what proved to be the demanging tendency in the 1960's, both in the private sector and in public policy to press towards large con - glomerates. The relevance of the nuclear and extendend family to this is pointed up by the experience in Britain of immigrant groups such as Asians or Cypriots (14).

One could lengthen a list like this indefinitely, or expand particular parts of it. Tax and social security law, for example, is criticised for failing to take account of women's new position in the family and work. Family law is criticised on the one hand for the way in which it deals with certain aspects of family break-up - fathers' access to children, for example, or the divisone of property and pension rights between the former husband and wife - and on the other for going too far towards encouraging break-up. One or two recent publications have raised an issue about this which so far is no bigger than a man's hand, but could grow. A marriage code broad enough to encompass all the different attitudes and practices with regard to the stability and break-up of marriages which exist in Britain today is likely to be very much a framework law, lacking in positive and supportive content. To borrow a phrase from unfortunate but traditional practice in the teaching of religion in English State schools, it is likely to represent "agreed syllabus" marriage: and that is in fact exaclty the direction in which British family law has gone (15). Is there a case for recognising the right of Moslems or Catholics, for example, to write their marriage contracts under their own more positive law, and to be held to them? Or for encouraging individual couples to write their own contracts to include, for example, their understanding of the new definition of sex roles?

The administration of a family policy: lessons from international experience

However, enough illustrations have been given to show why the feeling that social and economic policies need to incorporate a more systematic family perspective has grown in Britain within the last few years. There is one further factor to add. It is wht a Hungarian participant in a conference some years ago called the "international contagion of ideas" on family policy. Those in Britain who are concerned with family policy are aware that other countries do have more or less coherent family policies and have found them useful. The working models of family policies which exist in both Western and Eastern Europe are being studied in Britain partly in terms of the policies to be promoted, but especially in termsof the machinery for creating a family policy and ensuring that it is effectively applied. The policy issues which are most relevant differ from country to country, but the administrative and political problems of family policy are similar everywhere.

Family policy is not an area which can be neatly demarcated within a ring fence and handed over to a single government department. British observers have noted, for example, the experience of the German Family Ministry, which has been described as a "Minsitry of Everything - or Nothing" whose policies " hitch-hike" on the back of the interests of other departments responsible for individual services (17). The problem of family policy is not to create a new and separate block of policies but to ensure that a family perspective is applied accross the whole range of areas where policy decision affect families or depend for their implementation on them. Britain is developing its own set of priorities as regards the problems which family policy needs to solve, but shares with other countries the problem of how to devise any kind of family policy and to make it work. What machinery of family policy, therefore, seems likely to emerge in Britain?

Mobilising a family lobby: the Family Forum

One clear lesson from international experience is that, if family policy is to be brought forcefully to the attention of politicians and administrators, it needs the backing of a strong family lobby. The bases for such a lobby can be of either or both of two kinds. One is associations of families themselves, as in France or Belgium. The other is a grouping of organisations concerned for and with the family, as in the case of the Netherlands Family Council. Britain does not for the moment have family associations on a scale to compare with those of France or Belgium, and the Dutch model is therefore the one most immediately appropriate.

There has already existed for many years a British Union of Family Organisations, affiliated to the International Union of Family Organisation. BUFO itself, however, recognises that its weight as a lobby needs to be increased, and in 1977 organised a conference on the role and achievements of family organisations

in other countries and possible lessons for Britain. At the same time an independent research organisation, the Thomas Coram Research Unit, organised a series of one-day meetings under the title "Towards a Family Policy". As a result of these and other initiatives around that time, and of growing general concern among voluntary social service organisations about the lack of an adequate family perspective in current social policies, the major national grouping of voluntary social service organisations, the National Council of Social Service, now renamed the National Council for Voluntary Organisations, also became involved. It issued a disscussion paper in the summer of 1977, and in February 1978 called a national conference with the chairman of BUFO in the chair. Representative of 75 organisations attended, from the voluntary and statutory social services and government agencies concerned with them, the churches, women's movements, research organisations, and the political parties. From this was born, over the next year, the idea of a national Family Forum supported by corresponding Forums at county or similar level (18).

At both local and national level the general aim of the Family Forum is to get recognition for family policy and the family perspective in all relevant areas of policy and to fill what is seen as a major gap in the network of pressure groups by which public policy is influenced. "There is as yet no central organisation which is recognised as representing the family and its interests". The local dimension is seen as important both for influencing local decision and for giving roots and weight to national representation. Ideas on this were influenced notably by one successful existing organisation at county level, the Gloucestershire Association for Family Life. At both the national and the local level the initial participants have of necessity to be in the first place mainly organisation working for the family, but one of the tasks of national and local forums will be the further development of associations of families themselves.

At the time of writing (1980) the Family Forum is seeking finance, probably from a foundation, to prime the pump for its first years of work. As and when finance is found, the practical and political difficulties of agreeing on policies for the family and presenting them with a force and coherence likely to impress policy-makers will of course still have to be faced. The organisations involved in the Family Forum project have varied and often specialised interests. One some issues a wide consensus has already emerged, for example on the need for more financial support for families. On other, such as child health or mental handicap, there are practical problems over formulating policies but no sharp division of principle. On an issue such as abortion, however, it is unlikely that any single view can be achieved. The creation of the Family Forum is not in any case intended to constrict the freedom of its component organisations to press their own interests independently, and on issues like this they will have to go their own way.

However, there are not many issues where views diverge so sharply. There is reason to think that it will in practice be possible to go a long way towards agreeing on priorities and on policies which can attract common support. Even on an issue such as that of abortion, there might at least be agreement on procedure:for example that current policy issues should be fully debated and determined, without the debate being cut short, as happened in the case of one major Parliamentary Bill in 1979/80, by the refusal of Parliamentary time.

Public information and debate - the Study Commission on the Family

One reason for the lack of a family perspective in British public policies has been the limited range of public debate on family policy and understanding of it. Promoting public information and debate is one of the objectives of the Family Forum, and another recent initiative, the Study Commission on the Family, is concerntrating specifically on this.

The Study Commission originated from an initiative towards the end of the 1970's by the trustees of an independent family research organisation, the Institute of Family and Environmental Research, and became effectively established in 1978/9. It has been financed in its first stages by the Leverhulme Trust, and in 1980 otbained from the Trust a grant of L. 100,000 for its work over the next two years.Its members are invited on a personal basis from a wide range of fields, including the social services, the churches, industry and the trade unions, local government, research centres, and relevant pressure groups. Its chairman is a former Director-General of the Confederation of British Industries. It defines its purpose as:

> "First, to draw together existing reseach and knowledge in the field; second, to identify gaps in information and analysis; and third to analyse and contribute to debate on appropriate policy options".

More shortly, its objective is " to generate, inform, and participatein public discussion about the family". Its target is both the general informed public and "to help policy makers in central and local government, in industry and in the voluntary sector".

The SCF has a small secretaria, and operates mainly through working parties of specialists and through commissioning reports and discussion documents from outside. It also promotes seminars, for example one aimed specifically at civil servants , held at the Civil Service College in October 1979. Its first series of publications began to appear in 1980.

Research

It is easy to draw up a bibliography of social and econo-

mic research in Britain which is relevant to the family, and a long list of individual projects in progress in universities, independent research institutes, and government. There have, however, been few institutes of research groups specifically focussing on the family. The IFER, just mentioned, is one. Another is the Marriage Research Centre at the Central Middlesex Hospital: and there are several, such as the Tavistock Institute, the National Children's Bureau or the Institute for Community Studies, which have a substantial interest in this field. But family research, like family policy, has lacked a focus, and in 1978 a group of specialists, on the initiative once again of IFER, formed a Family Research Committee to set about filling this gap.

The most useful first step appeared to be to draw together the available research material in a symposium on Families in Britain, in four parts. The first reviews the known facts about changing family patterns and models in Britain. The second reviews and analyses experience in Britain with particular family patterns and problems - "conventional" families, dual worker families, family breakdown and reconstitution, and so on - and within different communities within Britain. The findings quoted earlier about the different experience of Asian or other ethnic and native British families are drawn from this. The third part asks the question whether a range of existing public policies have in fact taken adequate account of what is known about British families and changes in them. The final part contains a general over-view and a review of international experience. The symposium is due for publication at the beginning of 1981.

Peronal links

The promoters of family policy in Britain are not exactly a stage army, but the circles involved in the three initiatives so far described do, when it comes to personalities largely overlap. One of the essentials of any effective and wide-ranging social movement is a network of informal personal contacts, and Britain is duly beginning to acquire a "family policy mafia" of this kind. The Family Forum, the SCF, and the Family Research Committee operate independently and involve many people who work in one of these circles alone. But the three groupings are linked not only by consultation between organisations but by a number of personali - ties who reappear in more than one of them.

Government and family policy

Family policy is not always or consistently coherent even in countries where it is explicit, but at least achieves in these countries a greater degree of coherence than in those such as Britain, Ireland, or the USA where it has no formal shape at all. The general shape of the administrative procedures needed to achieve this is well enough tried and known. They must of course start from the political will to develop a family policy. Given this, they include:

(1) At the overall level of government:

a) A Cabinet or inter-ministerial committee, and a corresponding Civil Service committe, with a general responsability for promoting and monitoring the application of a family perspective across relevant policy fields, supported where necessary with sector committees: and in either case working closely with the organisation which make up the family lobby.

b) A Minister and department with responsibility for providing the secretariat of this inter-departmental machinery and reporting on its progress. Though no department of govenment can carry the responsibility for family policy alone, it is useful to assign to a particular deparment the responsibility of convener, servicing agency, and rapporteur.

c) Access to and support and pressure from the highest level of government: practical expression, through the arrangements under (a) and (b), of senior ministers' view of family policy as a matter of major Governmental concern.

(2) At departmental level, similar arragements: inter-divisional co-ordination, a family policy unit within each department, and access to and support from the Minister and the top administrative level.

(3) In the case of individual measures of legislation or administrative change, provision as standard practice of a family impact statement showing the expected effects of each measure on and through families.

(4) Periodic external review and re-consideration of family policy and its operation, whether through ad hoc committees of enquiry - a good example is the series of Royal Commissions through which family policy has developed in Sweden - or through standing bodies such as parliamentary committees.

On this side, however, there has as yeat been rather little progress in Britain. There are some embryonic developments, for example the modest role of the Home Office in promoting the general advance of marriage counselling, as an offshoot from its responsibility for the criminal probation service. But a general administrative framework for the formulation and application of family policy does not yet exist. Parliamentary interest remains limited, and focusses on particular issues such as child poverty rather than on family policy in its more general sense. The system of Parliamentary review committees has been expanded and systematised under the present Government, but rather conspicuously does not include a committee on the family.

Nor, indeed, would it be reasonable at this stage to expect anything else. A main purpose of the three types of

initiative previously described, on the family lobby, public information and debate, and the focussing of research results is to create a coherent view of family policy, and public interest in and pressure for it, to which politicians and administrators can then be expected to respond. The general good will towards the family and, in a vague sense, family policy which has been expressed by the present British Prime Minister and her predecessor is a useful beginning. The problem now, as those concerned to promote family policy in Britain see it, is to give this general goodwill a solid and coherent content, backed by pressures of the sort to which political leaders and administrators can be expected to respond. The keystone of the arch, eventually, will be the installation of administrative machinery to take action on family policy as defined and supported in this way. But first the infra-structure has to be built. The lines on which it is being built in Britain are promising, but the initiatives of the last few years are still new, unfinished, and on a modest scale, and not yet such as to influence public or political opinion in a major way. It is likely still to take several years of hard and patient work before these initiatives work their way through into a full-blown national family policy and system for administering it.

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Masamba ma MPOLO

Participation of families in social change

I. INTRODUCTION

In each epoch the Church transmits in the language of the day the Biblical message of healing, reconciliation, liberation, growth and hope in order to respond to the specific needs of the time. Present various programmes of churches dealing with general education ministerial and lay formation, interchurch aid, community development projects, as well as studies undertaken in search for a just society and a new community between men and women are intended to foster change. These programmes make visible many facets of the role of the church in the care of individuals and communities. The equipping of the people of God to become instruments of change is the most contemporary target of the churches' educational and pastoral ministry. It is in this perspective that the Office of Family Education of the World Council of Churches initiated and ecumenical project aimed at engaging families to participate in social change.

II. BRIEF HISTORY OF THE PROJECT

Since 1953, the World Council of Churches in conjunction with member churches, has been involved in a network of family education programmes ranging from supporting training programmes,con

sultations and seminars on family life in the third world (1), dealing with population questions, sex education, marriage counselling workshops, granting scholarships for the training of family educators, to sponsoring consultations on pastoral care and human relations (2).

To its role of leadership development and fund-raising for the support of family life programmes of member churches, the Office of family Education, in 1973, added an element of practical research. In April 1973, the Office of Family Education held an international consultation. An Ad-Hoc Committee of 24 people met in Malta to advise the Office concerning its future task. A research project involving an action-reflection methodology was proposed in order to engage the Office to examine social changes within and outside families and to propose types of corresponding changes that could be devised in the educational and counselling programmes with and for families. The report of the consultation was called Family Power. Familia '74 (3) strenghtened the idea of carrying out such a research in order to make families participate in the process of designing a subsequent methodology of family education that was envisaged to emerge from the process.

The operation of the project started in September 1975 when Rev. Leslie Clements (4), and Dr. Angela Molnos (5) called the first consultative meeting in Geneva to study and develop the project. A tentative plan was established and the project was named "Family Power Social Change".

Approved by the 1975 Nairoby Assembly of the World Council of Churches, the Family Power Social Change Project was launched in 1976 and has been spreading ever since.

III. MAIN OBJECTIVES OF THE PROJECT

Elise Boulding once said that the family should not be looked at as an institution which guarantees the status quo of the social order, but rather as a workshop which initiates social change. This role is only possible when there is an open system of relationships as it was pointed out-in Dar-es-Salaam in 1974:

> "The family today is shaken by all the winds of change. New and difficult questions are having to be faced.And, from one generation to another, the replies, language itself, no longer coincide. Parents, more than young people, are concerned. And the family itself was in danger. But this family, where ultimately all the social, economic and cultural tensions of our time converge, is not only a passive target. A place for dialogue and awakening, the family also possesses educational, creative and mobilizing power" (6).

Two main objectives of the Family Power Social Change Project are to be noted:

(1) "To discover and develop by a process of reflection and

action, ways and means of enabling families to utilise change for the improvement of the quality of life for persons , families and societies and to cope with political, economic and social problems and pressures on family life" (7).

(2) "To provide a research instrument for the churches that will (a) challenge and help reshape the Churches' ministries through and for families; (b) contribute to the renewal of congregational life; (c) stimulate and further encourage theological and biblical studies on marriage, sexuality and family life; (d) recover a new for the churches the significance of flesh and blood relationships; (e) help churches to see and understand the demonic forces that are playing about the people they are called to care for" (8).

The project is designed on the assumption that the family , in relationship with other families, possesses a dynamism which, if developed and released, could be a powerful agent for change.

The concept of change encompasses the improvement of relationships between male and female, child-adult, parents and other persons, the creation of growth-oriented attitudes towards cultural, political, philosophical, ethical and religious traditional values, and the building up of critical awareness of one's personal and social identity.

While family counselling, marriage enrichment and family cluster programmes are intended to foster change of individuals in marital and family relationships, the family power movement provides the participating individuals with tools for fostering change within and outside the family. There is a double process of change:

(1) The individual gains or builds up the identity awareness, learns to discover, accept and appreciate the other human beings in the group; the sense of trust of one's capacity to analyse, suggest and create emerges out of the action-reflection process.

(2) The local groups of families create social ego, using the group's identity, resources and power to foster change for individuals participating in the process of reflection and action, as well as for the immediate community in discovering its power over the individual and groups of individuals in the community.

It goes without saying that Family Power Social Change Project does not entirely accept the notion that the environment is determinative for the shape of family living, but holds that the family has resources to shape its environment taking into account two levels of family interactions:

(a) the nuclear family emerging itself into the extend family and thus forming a cluster of local families which hold together the responsibility of identifying issue and resources and initiating their responses to local specific situations;

(b) the existing network of such clusters in a given region with more or less similar issues and those around the world reflecting and initiating actions for the interest of families and individuals reinforce each other's initiatives so that no group is left alone in this process of change.

IV. SOME OBSERVATIONS ON GROUPS

The following remarks constitues a provisional analysis of existing groups (9):

(1) There are 47 reporting groups scattered in 23 different countries of Africa, Asia, the Pacifics, Australia, Europe, North and South America. More groups are in the process of being created in Nigeria, Tanzania, Thailand, India, and Sri Lanka. Adding members belonging to participating groups to reporting groups members makes the population reach around one thousand people involved in the action-reflection process of Family Power Social Change Project.

(2) Each group has an enabler whose role is to facilitate group discussions and proper reporting. He/she makes it sure that hopes, concerns, and identified problems and designed methods for action are properly studied and implimented.

(3) Twelve reporting groups are composed of participants from more than two different christian groups. Oecumenical participation including Roman catholics, Protestants and Anglicans even at the leadership level is increasing. In India, a few participants belong to the Hindou and Islamic religions. In East Germany, the reflection process on the biblical concepts of marriage, family, sexuality, etc. is enriched by the participation of atheist members. These experiments at the grass-root levels should provide better opportunities of study of different religious interpretations of such issues as population education and sexuality in order to advise Churches and international agencies interested in them.

(4) There is a healthy wide age range within each group. Out of the thirty two existing reporting groups, the difference between the youngest and the oldest is over 30 years in 17 groups. Even if the very young and the more advanced in age belong to different families, this wide age difference is positive as it helps in experimenting new ways of dealing with the generation gap syndrom.

(5) As a whole, females outnumber male participants. Is this due to the fact that women have more time than men? Are they more interested in group activities? Does this fact infer that men are more resistant to change as they are still more influent in setting up social structures and thus feel threatened by any movement interested in social change?

(6) Younger, poor and marginalized families participate less in the project. Is it because the methods udes in creating groups appeared to be too elitist?Is it because current approaches to social change devise solutions for the underpriviledged groups? The basic question that should be asked is as follow: "what needs to be changed in our society so that underpriviledged families are recognized as real social partners"?

It should be noted that efforts are being made in India, the Philippines and Mexico to involve underpriviledged families in rural and urban communities.

(7) It should also be noted that a half dozen groups include solo parents as well as single individuals who raise issues and provide new life styles and insights that will be of great help in subsequent discussions on human sexuality, the theology of marriage and family, comparative studies in parent-child relationships in different types of family life-styles.

V. A VARIETY OF SUBJECTS BEING DISCUSSED

Different material coming from groups have not yet been throughly processed. The following remarks are but cursory examination of reports It should be said that even though some guidelines were set up for groups the project did not devise a unified action-reflection model; nor did it propose a set of concepts for the process.

The following questions were suggested as areas of concerns that would emerge out of group discussions:

(1) What are the hopes, concerns and problems in our situation as families in this community?

(2) How can we tackle them ourselves (Who does what and when?)

(3) What additional help can and should we obtain?

(4) What are the factors over which we do not have control?

(5) How can we exert influence over them?

(6) What information, knowledge, do we need (use resource persons)

(7) What persons are the changes we want to bring about?

(8) Are we going in the right direction?

(9) What are the possible good and bad effects of the changes?

(10) What can the group do to reinforce good changes and counteract the wrong changes?

(11) Let us plan our action. After, implementation, let us analyse what we did so that we can learn from it. (10).

A series of working papers were sent to groups members in order to establish a unified framework of reference while each group develops its own ways (11). Guidelines set up in working papers suggested a common outline to be followed so that the evaluation of the project can be facilitated.

Methods of group dynamics, identification of conflict areas of family life, diagnosis of social pathologies and devising methods for social actions most likely to develop problem-solving capacities of groups members, are being developed by local participants. Each groups decides on relevant subjects for reflection and action. Let us list in two categories a few of those which have emerged from the 32 existing groups around the world.

A. HUMAN RELATIONSHIPS

A few samples illustrating new approaches in establishing human relationships in the context of the project are briefly presented.

1. PARENT-CHILD INTERACTIONS

a) While the culture makes it difficult for children to discuss together with parents, the Yedan Nyame groups in Ghana involves children and the preparation of reports on group meeting and make surveys on the environment in which the group livels. Discussion on these assignments establishes possibilities for more intimate dialogues. Similar at temps are being made by the Tapaz group in Bolivia.

b) "Familia '77", one of the two groups in East Germany, often includes children in their activities. Familia '77 organized once a three-day meeting with children including singing, dancing, prayers, role playing games in which children played the role of their parents and vice-versa.

c) The Tooting Rebecca groups in England includes children in their sessions. One daughter is reported to have said : "This groups has helped me in my relationship with my mother and also her response to me".

2. MALE-FEMALE INTERACTIONS

a) Trying to involve women and men in the same discussion groups has been an obstacle in many countries. The principle of division of labour is still a cultural norm determining male-female relationships. In India, at the beginning, it was difficult to discuss family issues when men and women were present. This is due to traditional attitudes that family issues are too personal and cannot be discussed openly. Much effort has been made, however, in many countries (Ghana, Uganda, India, etc.) to bring together members of the two sexes. It cana even be noted that

at present women are the only ones being key persons in Asia. Transitional stages were used in several countries, holding separate meetings of each sex group members, before bringing them together for reporting and discussion. Growth in male-female relationships has been observed.

b) Most groups in Western countries include couples who also benefit from the exercise by improving communication and decision-making skills as family units. Patriarchal attitudes in marital relationships are being challenged when the husband learns to move to a new location when the wife has a better job somewhere.

c) The presence of unmarried mothers (single mothers) in some groups provides a better opportunity for discussing such concepts as friendship, acceptance, sexuality, with openness and trust. Traditional Church and social attitudes towards single parenthood and sexually viedwed human friendship will shed more light in group discussions.

3. GROWING IN FAMILY AND MARITAL RELATIONSHIPS

Participanting in family groups anables many members to gain experience in relating to members of the opposite sex and thus one's own partner. Interacting with children of other families as well as children relating to parents of other family units, has proved to be a learning experience for both children and parents.

The ability to explain personal family problems to other members of the group is a painful experience which in nonetheless bringing openness-honesty, friendship, intimacy and trust in the marital and family relathionships.

4. EXTENDED RELATIONSHIPS

a) Members of one group in Ghana have included widows and old people in their activities. These contacts were useful in so far as they prevented widows and old people from isolation and engendered learning from the experience of widowhood and old age. This same group has intensive care for looking after children whose mothers were ill or in prison.

b) The East Germany"Familia '77" group is becoming an extended family: when a wife goes into the hospital, the children are looked after by another member of the group. This group is also developing into a self-counselling family unit, giving support to anyone in need. As mobility and urbanization break blood relationships and create isolation in urban communities, marital relationships are under strain. Often, those living in the same urban area have less and less in common with their real relatives. An extended family system based on meaningful human relationships appears to be one of the family structures capable of emerging from this project.

There is a consensus coming from all groups that the exercise has been profitable. Each person gains deeper understanding of personal inner feelings, desires and hopes. There is

also acceptance of the other person. Martti Joensuu reports on FINMA group (Finland) saying:

"Since its first meeting, our group has been very effective in discussing. We have all learned to accept each other and discuss also matters concerning our relationships, our own personal problems. There is a little tensions between the need to handle our own problems and the given programme we have to go through. But I am sure we will manage...We also think that the group will continue its meetings after the action process is over".

B. SOCIAL CONCERNS

The involvement of the Church in seculare institutions has always been a threat to the Church as well as to society. Those participating in social actions are sometimes qualified as being social activists. More and more, however, the Church is reminded of its prophetic responsibility to interpret the liberating biblical message to the whole organized life of the community. The renewing of society calls also for the transformation, the continuous transformation and sanctification of the people of God by the power of God's Holy Spirit.

The Family Power Social Change Project involves men and woment using the family as a social unit that can be constantly transformed to cultivate redemptive relationships and actions for community change. People are gaining awareness in social issue and structures of injustice within their immediate communities. Actions are being taken not only for the creation of local caring communities, but also for involvement in dialogue with social structures. There follows a brief preliminary list of areas of social concerns.

(1) Shortage of basic commodities due to distributive policies or importation laws in the case of Ghana and Zaire. Contacts with government authorities, involvement of group members in community production activities, and educational programmes contributed to the alleviation of the problem.

(2) Care for abandoned children due to parental neglect or imprisonment is also likely to lead toward studies reflecting on economic, political and psychological issues creating this problem.

(3) Youth unemployment has created task forces to reflect on school curriculum development in the context of community needs. Educational systems are to be challenged by families. Handicraft work is being developed.

(4) The urban poor and rural women are being conscientized to take control of their lives, helping them to learn and be able to sell their handicraft.

(5) Divorce laws: consciousness is being raised on family laws: that are the rights of the father, the mother and the childs? Do couples have to be forced to take adversary positions in order to win their rights?

(6) Work legislation: the rights of a pregnant working women who needs leave of absence, the rights of the father to have time off for the birth of the child during work hours,etc. In many societies the child selling newspapers and shining shoes on the streets makes some groups study the issue, taking into account educational opportunities and programmes as well as the Child Labour Law.

(7) Problem of the right use of leisure: when planning for city development, green areas are being requested to city planners and authorities for community recreation.

(8) Increased affluence is being questioned. Education opportunities for the right use of money seems to be a necessary target.

(9) The role of the man in the family: the upbringing of the male child prepared him to take less responsibility in the dome, thus creating a male dominance comples over the woman. Parents effectiveness training session envisaged for group members as well as the community. Preparing the youth for family responsabilities seminars also envisaged.

(10) Population and sexual education: Right information on population and sex education is being required through seminars or community clinics.

(11) The role of the child:It is being realized more and more that the child has the right to participate in family decision-making. Their inclusion in the family decision-making process helps them develop personality, personal integrity and learn to become responsible.

VI. THE FUTURE OF THE PROJECT

The project, in its first stage, ends in December 1979. The data processing is to be started in February 1979. Three main areas of concern are envisaged.

1. Case studies to be collected from all Reporting Groups
2. A description of each group to be made, telling the story of component families, their problems, concerns, hopes, environment and means utilized to tackle their problems.
3. The experience gained in conducting the project will accompany the evaluation. Conclusions and recommendations will be made for the interest of family counsellors, educators, family planners and international organizations in various social fields in order to help improve approaches to helping families.

It is hoped that the meeting planned in January 1980, to which Key Persons and some enablers from around the world will be invit-

ed, will help to shape the project so that it will eventually become not a project but rather a family movement making a contribution towards the linking of various families around the world in developing a familial society, experimenting on new methods of therapy and learning.

(1) Building a family oriented society

The building of a family oriented society is one of the contributions the Family Power Social Change Project offers us. All those involved in the project are called to participate in the making of a family oriented society, a society in which the family and the individual person are at the centre of societal preoccupations, a society in which the family has the control and shapes the decision of the political, social economic and educational organizations in the community.

McKinnon dreams of a family oriented society in these terms:

"By familial society, I understand a society in which the human person and the quality of his/her immediate relationships at home, during study, at work and at play - are considered of prime importance for the quality of the society and its institutions.
It is a society in which systems and social structures favour such relationships and seek to improve them....

"It is a society which gives great importance to care for others and to sharing, a society which recognizes that we are social beings and that we must consequently live our lives in relationships with others.

It is a society in which affection and sharing being at home and extend in the community with others, reaching, penetrating even the large village which, according to McLuhan's vision, is the world"(12).

VII COMMENTING ON THE IMPORTANCE OF THE PROJECT FOR AFRICA DAVID DURTEY ONCE WROTE:

"The Yedan Nyame group had some very encouraging results from their work. This is the rural group and in that area there was the problem of widows who found themselves quite alone. Widowhood can be a problem. By involving the widows it was discovered that a new type of relationship could be established with widows.

"This group also set up to try and improve the food crisis which existed in Ghana. A tractor was acquired and the driver agreed to drive it with no salary as a contribution to the groups activities. This made access to food easier. Food would be collected and distributed among members of the group and any surplus would be sold. The objectives of both groups are practical ones which directly concern the members of each group. The success of the groups activities was such that other people began to ask if they could form groups too. There is the idea that when the con-

tract is finalized the group will be dissolved allow each member to form new groups and act as enabler. There are encouraging possibilities with the groups and the various activities they could be involved in. For example, the problem of old people could be improved by gettin members of groups to care for them. Children whose mothers have been imprisoned could also be taken into care by group members.

"These are only some of the many possibilities which could be developed from this project. This aspect of the project is extremely encouraging. Of course the problems are appreciated , the local ones as well as those at the centre, but problems can be tackled and wonderful things can be done despite the problems".

I. TOWARD DEVELOPING A FAMILY THERAPY METHOD

At the present, the project is not designed to provide therapy for the family. But as family members reflect on issues of their own choice, especially on outside pressures disturbing the family, an awareness of social pathologies arises out of the process, clarifying to families the social context of family disturbances. A comprehensive knowledge of interaction between the individual, the family and the community with all it represente immerges out of this process, which involves families to make their own research in the psychosociology of the family and develop their own appropriate techniques oriented toward family therapy and education.

II. DEVELOPING AN EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

The Family Power Social Change Project is one of the experiments from which a valuable knowledge in non-formal education can be gained. In this project participating individuals develop new skills in social analysis, awareness of other in social and interpersonal relationships, the building of positive attitudes towards oneself as an individual valuable human being, critical consciousness towards issues, establishment of non-manipulative, non-domineering and non-exploitive relationships with people of different age, sex, racia and religio-philosophical orientations.

As a non-formal method in the educational process, one of the major contributions the Family Power Social Change Project is making is the help it is giving to families and individually to be able to take decisions. Decision-making in many parts of the world is one of the crucial skills needed in order to move families from being passive to active participants in their communities and countries. In these non-formal educational groups, people learn to recognize different option available to them in order to make decisions and choices which relate to their needs and desires and to shape their community in which they live.

NOTES:

(1) Here are a few seminars organized jointly by the Office of Family Education and regional bodies:

a) 1954: "The South-East Asia Seminar Conference on the Christian Family", Manila the Philippines.
b) 1958: "Study and Training Institute on the Family", Chiengmai, Thailand.
c) 1963: "All-Africa Seminar on the Christian Home and Family Life", Kitwe, Zambia.
d) 1964: The Caribbean Seminar on Christian Family Life", Antigua, Island.
e) 1966: "Man-Woman co-operation", Tokyo, Japan.
f) 1968: "Institute of Marriage and Family Counselling", Bangkok, Thailand
g) 1968-69: (December 1968-January 1969):"Semina on Marriage, Family and Counselling", Ibadan, Nigeria.

(2) Cf. (a) 1974: "Pastoral Care of those Confronted with Abortion", Consultation organized in Monbachtal, Germany by the Office of Family Education and the Portfolio on Social Services of the W.C.C.
(b)1978: "Human Relations and Sexual Identity", consultation sponsored jointly by the Family Education Office and the Sub-Unit on Women in Church and Society.

(3) "Familia '74 "Was a World Assembly on the theme "Family Power" held in Dar-es-Salaam, Tanzania, 16th. - 30th. June '74 and jointly organized by the Office of Family Education and the International Confederation Christian Family Movemnts.

(4) Rev. Leslie C. Clements was then executive Secretary of the Office of Family Education.

(5) Dr. Angela Molnos is social advisor to the International Planned Parenthood Federation. She has served as one of the members of the Co-ordinating Committee and monitored the Project until June 1978.

(6) "La famille interpelée. Familia 74: Questions à la famille" in Fêtes et Saisons, No 291/Jan.75) p.3.

(7) "WCC Educational Task", in Education Newsletter, Vol. V, No. 3 (1976) p.3.

(8) Family Power Social Change: A prospectus or Action. WCC, Geneva (1977) p.3

(9) Reporting groups send summaries of their discussions and actions to the Office of Family Education while Participating groups send theirs to their national or regional representative. They are both involved in the same process.

10) Guidelines for Key person, WCC, 1976; p. 9

11) Family Power Social Change: A process of Action Reflection, 1976-1978 (Revised edition, WCC, 1977) and Working Papers, 1,2,3,4,5, (WCC, 1976)

12) Fred R. MacKinnon, "Voyage sous le signe de l'espoir", Ottawa, VIF, (April 1977), p. 4-5

Pier Paolo DONATI

Interrelation among the different dimensions of family policy: is a unifying approach likely to be realized?

1. Preliminary statement: the need for a specific, not instrumental, integral concept of family policy

By the term "family policy" (or also 'social policy for the family'). I here intend to refer to the general measures adopted and carried out by the political-administrative system of a given society, in its different territorial structures, for the social well-being of the family.

Beyond this statement, booth the analysis of the empirical contents of family policy and their formulation according to precise regulations seem to be a very complex task. I shall try here to sketch what I consider a suitable scheme of analysis with a view both to examine the measures carried out at present in the European countries and, above all, to point out the possible basis for a new "unifying" approach.

1.1 The problem of specificity

It is first necessary to stress that the term "family policy" can be so far defined as referring to a great variety of measures directed both towards the family qua talis and the individuals on the whole.

But the question is, whether it is correct to speak of "family policy" for those public and/or private actions regarding for instance the spread of education, the improvement of physical health or the nutrition of a given population. It is first of all a matter of deciding on the possibility/opportunity to

use a general (broad) conceptof "family policy" or a specific (restricted) one.

Undoubtedly it is not always easy to tell whether a given measure of social policy can and/or must be meant for the family "as such" or not. There are, no doubt, sound reasons in favour of a general concept. The point is that, is family policy is meant in very broad terms, the specific object-subject represented by the concrete family cannot (or can very seldom) be reached, since the individuals as such or aggregates of individuals are from time to time privileged. In other words, if family policy is blunted into social policies, for a society considered as an aggregate of individuals certain results of "individual welfare" can well be obtained, but it becomes very difficult (and sometimes impossible) to obtain a thoroughly "sound" family life as to its inner and outer also (physical and psychic) relations.

Instead, the reasons in favour of a specific concept of family policy can be summarized as follows:

- if, on the one hand, it is true that the family is affected by each general intervention of social policy, on the other hand it is also true that family policy analysis nevev focuses on the overall amount of such effects on the group-family life;
- if it is true that social interventions regarding the family are quite numerous (in principle they are innumerable indeed) the perspective considering the various social policies through the "filter" of the family can be capable of unifying, though there is always the risk of neglecting (or evaluating insufficiently) all the aspects that are significant and remarkable for the family itself.

On the basis of what has just been said I think that it is more reasonable to speak of "family policy" as a specific concept: not meaning, however, a differentiated sub-system of social policy but as a criterion or filter or an attempt to interpret the more general social policies.

From the analysis of the researches carried out so far it is clear that, even if it is true that there are a great deal of theoretical and empirical variants with regard to family policy conceived as "everything the government does to and for the family", the need has been felt in all industrialized countries, in the most recent years, for a more explicit, direct, comprehensive, manifest and congruent, and even more visible family policy. These can be designed as further features of a family policy viewed in a specific sense. Following S.B.Kamerman and A.J. Kahn we can say that family policy can be analyzed: a) as a field or b) as a perspective.

A second question arises here as to family policy being

used as an instrument. The family can be actually "used" for an unimaginable number of purposes: this is done by people every day and is done more and more by governments too.

S.B. Kamerman and A.J. Kahn are therefore right when they point out in the empiric domain that there is a third way of viewing family policy, i.e. : c) family policy as an instrument ("rationale") for achieving other objectives of social policy; in this case it is a matter of measures devised as a consequence of the necessity to reach some systemic objectives (reduction of social expenses, limitation of fertility , etc.) that are different from the family well-being itself . This is the case, for instance, of politically mobilizing the families to involve them in mass participation and to reach some sort of educational or labour market behaviour (see the experiences in the socialist countries of Eastern Europe in China, Cuba and others); or, the family-social care provider is used as an instrument to solve the problems of the weak and discriminated components of the population:hence it is entrusted with the helping services for the aged, the handicapped, the sick and so on, thus shifting on to the private citizen what is a public, general, common need (see the British and North American experiences).

Though in all the aforementioned cases it is clearly a question of "family policies" it is plain at the same time that these policies are mostly, if not merely, used as an instrument. Their main goal is not so much to help the family be itself, develop its relations within society, as rather to reach a given economic, political and social goal that, leaving out of consideration value judgements, has no bearing on the family since it does not specifically bring about the development of family life according to the needs and aspirations of the family members.

1.2. The requisite of "integrality"

Beside the need for a family policy to be specific and not instrumental, there is a third aspect emerging today as widespread need in European family policy trends: the search for a family policy that should be as unifying as possible, i.e. integrated into the various dimensions (aspects, areas) of intervention, which have been so far extremely fragmented.

This requisite of "integrality" consists of the effort to meet, not in a static but in a dynamic perspective (and this is why I prefer to use the term unifying) all the requirements of family life the community can and has to take charge of. This is achieved through solidarity, whereby resources and functional burdens are equally shared both within the families and between the single families and society,be it organized into public institutions or made up of common people.

The need for a "unifying" approach is undoubtedly the most difficult and risky one. Far from being clear and plain in itself, it actually asks several worrying questions. I would li-

ke to sum up here, making reference to three "risks".

A) The risk of monism and stigmatization. Even granting that such specific and "integral" family policy might be outlined, could it not perhaps represent a trend and support for a prevailing family pattern, ideologically considered as "normal", that would turn out to be privileged, and thus differentiating from other patterns? Is there, in short, a "unifying" family policy (or is it likely to be realized) shunning structural and cultural monism to leave the way open to a real, in no way stigmatizing pluralism? What is to be meant by "family" when this word is used in a "family policy" perspective?

B) The risk of integration (or conservative risk). Some people consider it risky to speak of a "holistic" type of family policy, since such an adjective would reflect a conservative view aiming at stabilizing the status quo, if not just at supporting or even reviving family patterns now viewed as old-fashioned.

C) The risk of alienation. According to other people, there is also the risk of enhancing the process of growing dependence on the State, experienced in the latest years by the families living in countries with a higher welfare, with the obvious negative and ill consequences of restricting freedom and autonomy and lessening considerably the involvement and participation in local communities life (thus causing apathy and anomy to increase).

If we examine the wide literature on the welfare state we notice that several scholars have drawn attention to such risks, emphasizing that the very rise and spread of family policy are connected with forms of stigmatization of the socially weaker families and with a merely therapeutic action on family life that neutralizes possible changes and structural reorganizations, within an underlying trend that would bring the social control of the bureaucratic structure into the innermost core of the family, thus emptying it of all meaning, spontaneous communication, vitality and participation ability. The aim of this contribution is just to survey the possibilities and meaning of a unifying family policy that, though intending to be specific and integral, may at the same time avoid the aforesaid risks of cultural monism, mere traditionalism and alienation of the families.

2. The "status questionis": particularistic approaches and integrated approaches

Indeed, though an "integrated" (into the various dimension) family policy has been talked over for some time and by several currents of opinion, reality still seems to go the opposite way. On the one hand social differentiation and breaking up are on the increase within and among family units, on the other hand both specialism and sectionalism are becoming more marked. Thus, both the social division of work (inside and outside the family) and the social division of well-being (among family members and so-

cial classes) increase at the same time. The families are affected by all the issuing tensions and contradictions and bear the consequences by their being unable to reach integration and solidarity.

The dynamics of these parallel processes (outside and inside the family) of ill social differentiation which, though developing single dimensions of life (inside and outside the family) is no more able to unite them, is very complex.

Meanwhile we can see how social policies are acting at present for the family. Our aim is to try to understand why the shift to a unifying approach of family policy is still very uncertain and hard.

2.2. The current (particularistic) approaches

Two schemes of action, widely used by governments, seem to summarize the "particularistic" (not integrated) character of the interventions.

I scheme: Fragmentation according to needs and intervention areas Welfare actions for the family generally follow a classic division, dating back to R. Titmuss (1956), into three areas roughly corresponding to the span of common social needs:

(a) fiscal-economic area income redistribution and social security within the framework of the tax system)
(b) social services area, divided into general (housing, education, health, etc. and personal services (guidance centres, care to the elderly and the handicapped, etc.);
(c) employment area (benefits and services related to labour market and position, both in the public and private area).

As A. Sinfield pointed out, the integration of these areas is in general still lacking. But it can also be said that there are very often measures,in one of the three areas, affecting unfavourably the other areas and, after all, the unity and solidarity of family life. It is well knows, for instance, that certain measures in the economic-fiscal field are an out and out "tax on marriage" affecting in the negative the will to get married and to keep on living in the marita status.

II scheme: Fragmentation accordin to recipients

In this second approach family policies are directed towards the family members and types of families "under risk", which are provided with particular supportive measures. In short, the following policies can be made:

(a) according to special programs directed, in a more or less universalist/selective way, towards the weaker family status:women with heavy family burdens, infants, especially in case of disavantages, handicaps, maladjustment and abuses; minors with reference to deviant behaviours the elderly, proportioned to their degree of self-sufficiency;

(b) according to particular types of families (disadvantaged, incomplete, multi-problem) in particularly unfavoured urban and rural areas, or weak and less affluent families whose condition originates from macrostructural problems (unemployment, inflation, etc.).

This second scheme of interventions is very widespread and, as far as we know from surveying the various studies within reach, it seems to be a complement to the previous one. It goes without saying that, owing to its very nature, this approach varies remarkably by country in every single aspect, whereas more uniform interventions are noted in the first scheme.

Both schemes (measures to be taken for needs and people) that are complementary and interlocking, are widely ineffective because of a series of structural reasons social research has since long emphasized. In particular, two basic problems have been highlighted by this research and it is necessary to solve them if a unifying policy is to be attained:

(i) the difficulty and therefore the necessity to connect the 'family needs' significantly with the linkage mechanisms by which the family is linked to the other societal institutions. As long as needs are subject to an alienating dynamics of continuous artificial redefinition brought about by the capitalist market, and the linking mechanisms are insufficient or even subject to distortions, any unifying approach is obviously hindered, restrained, stifled, repressed.

(ii) The need to ensure adequate chances of life (and self-accomplishement) to the individual family members through a fair societal distribution of resources based on the feeling of solidarity and sense of responsibility and justice both in the relations among social groups of families and among the members of a family.

As far as differentiating values and mechanisms abide both among social classes/levels and among the very members of a family (people under a welfare scheme and not, earners and not , a.s.o.), family policy is fragmented because it has to "pursue" the disadvantaged. In short, a family policy in order to be unifying, under this aspects, should break the various "self-forming circles of deprivation".

In spite of their differences the above mentioned approaches (schemes) share the absence of the family within their scope. Indeed, the needs, the recipients, the intervention areas are individuated and measures ad hoc (more or less implemented, more or less effective) are taken, but what is missing is the unifying factor designed to coordinate the interventions in a perspective of a policy for the family as such.

2.3. Causes and dilemmas of fragmentation

The causes of the pervasive and recurring fragmentation of family policies, following the approaches mentioned so far, are generally to be attributed to:

(i) operational difficulties in coordinating the different measures, in carrying out preventive programs, in checking as much as possible the ill effects of a given welfare action on other aspects of family life and, finally, insufficient economic resources (cuts in social expenditure, inflation, etc.) What never, or almost never, appears in these analysis, just as a cause of persisting fragmentation, is

(ii) the theoretical difficulty to understand the family phenomenon from the cultural point of view, that is, the inability to make explicit the very object-subject of "family" policy. This brings us back to the fact that fragmented interventions are also a consequence of

(iii) clashing ideological pressures linked to collective movements and subcultures in conflict with one another.

In this connection my opinion is, therefore, that continuons relapsing into particularistic approaches is due to too high a degree of reductionism (either implicit or explicit) in the prevailing theories and ideologie on what family is and how it is changing.

In order to summarize my viewpoint on this matter I shall say that the causes of the persisting fragmentation are to be referred to three dilemmas I formulate as propositions of the crisis of the integral approach: the operational dilemma (integration /substitution of the family), the theoretical dilemma (associative/communal character of the family), the ideological dilemma(public/private character of the family).

- (I dilemma) The proposition of the operational crisis of the integral approach can be referred to the dilemma between the integration and/or the substitution of the family tasks by public or collective institutions. The dilemma is the following: the modern western State supports the family with the clear purpose of integrating the family tasks and substituting them only in exceptional cases of actual inability to carry them out but, as proved by many researches, the final issue (which is often hidden and unintentional) is to substitute the family functions progressively; on the other hand , if the State replaces more or less entirely the functions of the family, these are not fulfilled at lenght in such a way as to meet the requirements and thus the State has to resort to the family again (but in the meantime the family has more or less markedly grown weaker, has broken down and lost its meaning).
- (II dilemma) The proposition regarding the crisis of theoretical understanding can be referred to the difficulty to give satisfactory answers to the dilemma between the associative character and the communal character of the family. This dilemma is as follows: if the contractual aspect of the family relations is empha

sized their essential organic unity fails to be understood whereas - vice versa - if the communal character (of essential consent) is stressed, the associative aspect will lose by it. Each measure of social policy practically falls under this alternative.

So, if it is true that, particularly in the family, the contract has been prevailing on the status for two or more centuries, it is also true, on the other hand, that today's social policies are forced, often without admitting or acknowledging it, to refer to the status (of the family in particular) if they want to have the least efficacy.

- (III dilemma) Since the proposition of the crisis of the unifying approach is due to contrasting ideological forces (referable to dialectically opposed sub-cultures) it can be referred to the dilemma between the public character and the private character of the family. The dilemma is the following: if society stresses the merely private character of family life and relations, it cannot control the public outcomes of the ensuing behaviours; and, vice versa, if it emphasizes too much the public aspect subjectivity, that is the most intimate, creative, spontaneous moment in the interpersonal relations among the members of the family, is repressed.

2.4. Can a unifying approach be realized?

On the basis of the three propositions and relative dilemmas three assumptions can be made on the implementation of a possible "unifying" family policy. I should practically like to assert that a family policy has today real chances to be such if and only if it is based on the acknowledgement that:

(i) the family is not an institution-group socially surviving as a "residue" but an institution-group having its own autonomy (see par. 5);
(ii) the associative character of the family cannot be separated from its communal aspects making the family an overfunctional group-institution (see par. 4);
(iii) the family, being a public as well as a private phenomenon, must be conceived as a subject and not only as an object to which policies devised elsewhere are applied.

In summary, I think that most family policies mentioned so far (particularistic approaches) move within an organicist pattern wherein the family is considered as a fair cluster of needs making sense inasmuch as they are related to the whole (functions) and that therefore the community (considered as the State) has to take upon itself the task of meeting and seeing to such needs.

In this way an underestimation is made of the fact that the family is also a system per se and that such sub-system is ruled by interactions that are linked in a complex way with the public institutions.

It can be sociologically demonstrated that a social organicist philosophy while openly promising to solve the family needs as a whole, actually fragments them more and more. It is therefore necessary to devise a new approach.

Against the organicist pattern I would like here to set the pattern of reciprocity on the basis of which the fragmentary nature (inefficacy and non-functionality) of the particularistic approaches can be overcome only if family life is recognized as orientated on the basis of a principle of reciprocity among the needs, the individuals, between the inside and the outside, and not on the basis of a principle of functional specialization of an organicist nature, which can still be widely found in social legislations.

In fact it is just because of this principle that, since the relations of (asymmetric) dependence and (functional) isolation are necessarily brought about by it, pathological phenomena occur within the family as well as between the families and the social institutions. The State tries in vain to assist through measures taken from time to ex post in favour of the individual aspects, functions, needy areas, unfavoured individuals.

The (sociological) thesis I would like to expound in short is the following: the condition for a family policy to be unifying (comprehensive or integral) is to be orientated towards supporting and developing the family as a group-institution that, being a subject of reciprocity, has its own autonomy of an overfuctional nature in the relations among its members and with the other institutions, and not only being the object of welfare interventions regulated by a statute.

I shall try to examine in the following three paragraphs how this can be more analytically and operationally conceived?

3. The family as a "unit of primary service"

Family policies are in my opinion fragmentary and sectional not onlybecause of operational difficulties to link the various aspects but also because of theoretical deficiencies and ideological distortions. It goes without saying that, since clearness is lacking on the theoretical level, any operational measure ha some negative, dysfunctional, ill effect on the families themselves so that family policies appear today as a strenuous and ineffective run towards the well-being of a family nobody can either define or say what it consists of.

I shall here recall three of the main theoretical and ideological distortions:

(a) first of all the belief that the family is a historical "residue" or anyhow a cultural survival (existing as far as it goes on suiting capitalism);
(b) the idea that the unity of the family is incompatible with the individuals' emancipation (in particular women and young people);
(c) the interpretation of the historical process as a process of progressive (more or less consistent) de-institutionalization of the family.

It is evident that these axioms are closely related to one another, since they infer a unitary scheme linked to the positivist and historicist thought of the nineteenth century.

This is obviously not the place to discuss thoroughly these points. I shall therefore only remark that, as in the mistakes and misunderstandings of modern sociology it is possible to put forward an underlying evolutionistic hypothesis, likewise it is possible to formulate the alternative hypothesis necessarily issuing from the criticism of those errors.

This sociological hypothesis practically says that in a welfare state society the family must be properly conceived as a "unit of primary services". I repeat it, this is a sociological hypothesis that cannot be referred to mere value judgements claiming to reduce it to an ideological thesis, whatever its trend is.

The family, in the contemporary European societies, can be no longer referred to as "cell", but rather as "unit or flowing moment" between entering inputs and services/outputs produced for the society itself.

It is important to underscore that inputs (as well as outputs) are connected to three clearly different domains: the market, the State and the areas of social solidarity.

These three domains are governed by different types of economies:

- the market is based upon a contractual and conditional exchange economy defined according to usefulness (with positive or negative 'reasons for carrying out exchanges" referring to a price system);
- the State is based upon a political economy structured so as to collect and redistribute the resources in a centralized way in agreement with some distributive principles not in economical order;
- the areas of social solidarity (kinship, neighbours, primary and secondary groups, voluntary services, etc.) are based on a symbolic exchange, defined as a not contractual and not conditional exchange of goods and services, viewed as a present, and therefore as an interpersonal neither commercialized nor politically controlled transfer.

The family is connected with all these three types of economy and must therefore adjust itself to all these three spheres (or systems of action, with their own symbolic systems and mechanisms of structural interdependence).

Of course I am speaking of the family in general. When going to the concrete and considering "empirical families" it will be necessary to see to what extent they are connected with the three spheres (how much they receive and exchange respecti-

vely with the market, the State, the solidarity groups and their single peculiar accomplishments).

It is sociologically known that these relations vary a great deal according to the social class, the geographical area or environment, the position as to the labour market, the phase of the life cycle and so on, wherein the family lives.

If this synthetical conceptual setting has - as I believe - an underlying soundness the main advantage issuing from it lies in realizing that the family has not become a place of mere (biological, social, cultural) reproduction at all, as opposed to the sphere of "production".

Such view on the matter, unfortunately still widespread among scholars, twists the fact that the family is and remains the vital core in the overall production-and-reproduction of the whole historical-social development.

4. The dynamics of the interrelations among the various family members and need.

I have already said that to speak of "unity" does not mean to assume the presence of solidarity, harmony and equality. Nevertheless, the existing conflicts, inequalities, distortions cannot dim the fact that, on the one hand, people starting a family living in it look de facto for cohesion, rely on a mutual disposability and therefore prove their deliberate community-orientated acting; on the other hand the societal system sets well-defined expectations of inner stability for the family and, where necessary, tends to orientate and put pressure on the individuals so as to make them establish consistent relations and protect one another as much as possible (as, once again, it is proved by the latest legislations regarding marriage, maternity and child welfare, and family law in general).

It is therefore more than right, within this context, to speak of 'unity'. But what short of unity can/should a family policy refer to?

This paragraph will deal with the aspects emerging inside the family. Generally speaking there are four typical forms of interpersonal relations wherefrom unity can ensue.

(I) Familistic indenfication (mechanical solidarity). Each member wholly identifies himself with the family groups to the point of expecting all or almost all his needs to be fulfilled within such group (that is therefore called "exclusive"). This form of intersubjective relations may have prevailed in extremely static societies, but is incompatible with a mobile and differentiated society.

(II) Differentiation with dependence. Family life differs in highly specialized roles as regards tasks; since the resources available for each member (especially from outside) are unequal , asymmetries and forms of symbiotic dependence originate from this differentiation.

(III) Isolation (autonomic relations). The various members tend to take a line by themselves, to become "self-sufficient" both in the resources and in the way they fulfill their needs and expectations; this can be favoured by a particular way of producing or by the typical action of a welfare state privileging the individual qua talis .

(IV) Reciprocity (Symmetric relations). Interpersonal relations are marked by a system of expectations according to which the needs of an individual and a group are fulfilled through reciprocity exchanges.

It would be too long to highlight how the concrete historical family forms when appearing as units, are mixes of these different forms and spread in proportion to the prevailing way of production, to the characteristics of the symbolic system (the last fundamentals of which are religious) and to the type of statutory organization. According to some viewpoints there is even a historical, more or less consistent evolution leading from the first to the last type of unit as prevailing model of family form.

Though I do not share the evolutionist and deterministic assumptions of such a studies, I am nevertheless inclined to recognize that contemporary family policies find it difficult to support the first three forms of relations and are inclined to recognize and spread the fourth model (reciprocity). In one way this model becomes today "necessary" and desirable as far as the household components are recognized to have symmetrical needs which can be utterly fulfilled only through relations based on reciprocity between the members and the various dimensions of family life.

(A) Reciprocity among the members means open, sound and consistent communication among different age-groups, generations, status and sexes,in a reactivation of exchanges directed towards emphasizing the value of the alter instead of making him passive and exposed to exploitation, blackmail and violence. Though the norm of reciprocity can never be taken for granted, and is actually very often clearly eluded , yet is is true that the most widespread ideal norm and the most satisfactory life styles refer today to the family unit as a system of full reciprocity.

(B) Reciprocity among the various dimensions (needs and ways of fulfilling them). The whole of the needs concerning the family, from the physical and material requirements to the emotional and spiritual needs, as well as to the necessity to receive assistance during illness and the circumstances reducing autonomy , pertain symmetrically to each member. It is true that this is not always acknowledged de facto and that, indeed, we find in actual life shattered, frustrated, distressed, thwarted individuals forced to express or fulfill only a few limited and alienating needs. It is however true that social legislations, especially European legislations, recognize that the whole personality of the single individual should be developed and that such development can only occur through an action of mutual strengthening in a vital, meaningful, sel-controlled environment. This is actually what the soundness of the family consists of.

A wise family policy, in the present historical situation, seems to lie, in short, in encouraging reciprocity as sociological "gist" of the linkages among the family members and needs. I speak of gist inasmuch as it is a symbolic and structural pattern, hence a "valuation" of what is a fair balancing between the contractual and not contractual relations. But everything occurring inside the family is not disjoinable from the outer events, or rather, the very relations of interdependence with the market, the State and the areas of social solidarity are the factors contributing to mould the quality of inner life.

5. The dynamics of the interrelations between the family and the major social institutions

The types of interpersonal relations mentioned before (par. 4) are correlated with the macrostructural relations between family and society. There are, in this connection, four models that are - so to speak - "normal" in as many typical historical-cultural structures.

(I) The family is a micro-society, that is, the family incorporates all the main reproduction mechanisms of the whole society (as in simple societies or in the most cut off and fringe geopolitical areas not influenced by significant modernization processes).

(II) The Family is related to the other societal institutions on the basis of a specialized subordination. This is a typical setting of the industrialized societies giving the family two specialized functions: the primary socialization of children and the psycho-cultural stabilization of adult personalities.

(III) The family is isolated with respect to public institutions. In a way this is the radicalization of the previous model. As the capitalist modernization of the market goes on and the intervention of the States is on the increase, the family is - so to speak - removed from the public arena. The State and the market turn to individuals or groups (citizen, groups of interest, etc.) who, as such, are in no way related to the family.

(IV) The institutions and the family tend to establish mutual, more or less symmetrical liks. This is a kind of macrostructural relation the necessity of which is felt in highly differentiated societies when both the market and the State start to unfold their deficiencies in facing the needs of daily life, i.e. the well-being of the individual himself. Personally I do not quite agree with the emphasizing of some historical determinism marking the shift from one model to the other as a necessary process. However it should be pointed out that, historically, there has been at European level an actual positive development of the concept of "family policy" as a project fitting in from time to time with one of the four models just mentioned.

In fact:

- within the period 1601-1834, though irregularly, the family is considered the object of social care and assistance since it is conceived as a micro-society; the State intervention is based on the "principle of subsidization" (premodern conception);
- between approximately 1840 and the Great Crisis of 1929, though gradually, the second type of conception prevails, since room is made for the free capitalist market and the assistance is preferably directed from the State towards the individual (also as a bearer of family burdens: allowances and benefits for wife and children, etc.);
- from the welfare intervention policies of the thirties down to the end of the sixties the third type of conception prevails de facto; having assumed that a reduction in the structures and functions of the family is occurring, social policy definitely tends to favour universalistic interventions of social security wherein the family appears as a place of sheer privacy;
- only in the seventies the fourth model (reciprocity relations) starts to come out with strong, balanced interactions also operating "at a distance" between the family and the public institutions. Such model is orientated towards a preventive and more comprehensive (not merely or mostly economic) intervention with regard to social pathologies; this is the spirit of the SEEBOHM Report (1968).

An evaluation of the family policies, though very schematic, in the light of the four models mentioned above is justifiable. Having taken for granted that the modern processes of industrial revolution have irreversibly impaired the first type of relation, I have the impression that contemporary societies are still struggling between the second and the third model of relations (respectively: differentiation model with dependence and isolation model); whereas the desire for the fourth model (reciprocity) and the consciousness of its beeing necessary are growing more and more strongly.

In fact, considering the wide literature on the subject, I think it possible to formulate four basic propositions referred to the four models of macrostructural relations between family and society which, in reality, a family policy feeling the need to be unifying can refer to.

(I) In today's European context family policies cannot aim at the family as a micro-society. Those who have tried to follow this way have so far always lost, owing to an evident incompatibility between highly mobile societal systems orientated towards the equality of chances, and extended family forms. Therefore the concept of "unifying" family policy cannot be understood as the pursuit of such family form. It should however be noted that communal movements to take up again such model are not lacking: on the contrary they are continuously revining and some scholars insist on restructuring the family in the form of a "commune".

(II) Likewise it seems impossible to make a "unifying" policy just aiming on uncritically accepting the societal pro - cess of differentiation, at backing up the safeguard-pro motion of the family as a group with merely expressive ro les (the companionship type of family or family of sheer communication). Today we must in fact recognize the fai- lure of family policies conceiving the family as a specia lized body destined by social planning to the mere repro- duction of the labour force. In other words, if a family policy wants to be "unifying" it cannot accept to subor- dinate the needs of the family to the needs of the market and/or of the State.

(III) Both because of the previous policies and mainly of the upsurging modern revolutions (industrialization, urbani- zation, scientifical and social revolutions) the process of fragmentation and isolation of the family, both insi- de and outside, has become more and more noticeable. The policies of the consumeristic era of the sixties were its prototype just because they referred to a family concei- ved as an area of mere privacy and viewed as "residual" to the extent that its socially important functions were progressively decreasing. Though the consumers culture is now going through a crisis as a model of life and people are asking today for more meaningful, vital, full rela - tions, several family policies go on referring to this li ne of total deinstitutionalization of the family (this is the case, for instance, of the Scandinavian countries).

(IV) At this point the family is reconsidered as a group-ins- titution of "social participation". Already since the se venties the idea is taking shape,that family policies pur sued so far, beside having remarkable ill effects on the whole community, are really unable to carry out the very objectives of the individual and social well-being they intended to. When the privatization process of the fami- ly goes beyond a given limit there is no welfare state in the world that could make up for hardships, uneasiness , difficulties of any kind in people's daily life. In this situation an appeal is made to the family as "political subject", an appeal containing possible ambiguities that need to be cleared up.

Some useful outlines can be given for reference by connec ting the family with the main sub-systems of society incorpora ting the major social institutions. Thus we have three complex groups of relations:

- between the family and the market mediated by occupational welfare policies;
- between the family and the State, mediated by the tax system, programs of income-transfers and social security policies;
- between the family and the institutions of social solidarity, mediated by the social services.

A "unifying" family policy ought to consider all these relations of interdependence and analyze their "reasons for carrying out exchanges" so as to make the distribution of the relative relative responsibilities, burdens, functions clear and equitable in terms of the highest reciprocity between the family and the public institutions. Let us consider in short some implications.

(I) The family and the market. Though the family is willing to "give" and to "participate" to the market, the letter is not so much willing to consider the needs of the family as such.

These transaction relations can be analyzed with respect to various crucial variables such as:

- the social division of labour, which is tto rigid, exacting and exhausting owing to specialization, rhythms, requests of mobility and complete confidence accordind to the professional ethos "of the man of the organization";
- sex discriminations in labour organization, making it very difficult to exchange the roles in the family. Such exchange is getting more and more necessary for a better and more harmonious marital life.
- divisions by age-groups separating the various generations from one another, both in work and consumptions;
- the production of goods and services, which is not geared towards the family requests but, on the contrary, tends to manipulate them (e.g. the type of lodging).

(II) The family and the State (fiscal matters). It has been remarked that the family gives to the State more than it receives starting from tax transactions. The reasons for such "unequal exchange" are a great many and cannot be analyzed here, but it is practically a question of the State keeping too much for it-self and charging the family "too much" for the services supplied by the State itself. Of course the task of redistributing the resources performed by the State cannot and must not be questioned, but one could wonder whether, in this case too, the transaction relations could not be improved:

- either as to the greater incidence of income redistribu - tion measures on behalf of the poorest families (principle of equality) taking into account not only the size of the household but also the family burdens;
- or as to the acknowledgement that the families wishing more than others to obtain the home management of the resources may have de facto the actual possibilities to make use of the services of daily life (principle of autonomy) more freely, or may have at least the possibility to choose among the different kinds of services, also with regard to the suppeying bodies (State, public bodies, private bodies, community agencies, co-operative associations, a.s.o.).

(III) Family and social solidarity institutions (public services). The public institutions supplying the services tend, by the progressive institutionalization of the welfare state, to deal with the customers in a dependent (asymmetric) way and to

discourage participation, or anyway to depreciate and discourage voluntary services and the extended exchange among the users of the services themselves, whereas, on the other hand, users waver between attitudes aiming at delegating and placing the responsibilities on someone else and the reasserted intention "to do it by themselves". It is here a matter of analyzing in detail how the family is de facto left out, removed, hindered from participating in the major general and personal services. In all these fields the transactions between the family and the social institutions still seem to be extremely "immature" relations on both sides, as far as mutual incomprehnsions, distrusts, isolation, inconsistent messages distort the growth of a "reprocity culture", the only one that could direct both the family and the social institutions towards the single needs, differentiating the roles and the operational ways characterizing them.

In this frame a precise meaning is given to the autonomy of the family as an area of private-social management of daily life within the welfare State. We are therefore far from the autonomy of the family meaning a "political subject" in a premodern sense (as a micro-society) or in a liberal sense (as a private group-institution belonging to the market) or, further in the sense of a utopian community eliminating the market, depriving the State of its structures and interweaving with social solidarity. Whatever the constitutive dimension of this relative autonomy may be in the future, two points seem to be today of essential reference: the (subjective) capability and the (objective) possibility to:

- control the (internal and external) resources large enough to meet the basic requirements of daily life (guaranteed minimum social standard within a societal distribution basing itself on a maximum criterion);
- realize the home management of a family open system within controllable boundaries (as compared to other agencies supplying the same needs);
- be a subject of reciprocity in the social, civic, cultural participation both at local community and national level, and not a participant ignored and made passive by the great social reforms.

In this framework also the neo-liberal policies of the negative income tax and the vouchers specifically aiming at ensuring the above-mentioned autonomy are valid, meaningful and successful only if they are included in the scope of the welfare State.

6. Conclusions: neither residualism nor institutionalism; guidelines for a change

In order to synthesize the hypothesis I have put forward and tried to explain in this contribution I would say that: today a unifying family policy can be put into practice provided that the social and legislative action is inspired by the principle of reciprocity, as full and symmetrical as possible, both within the family (in the intersubjective relations) and in the

relations between the family and other social institutions (social division of work and well-being). Everything that does not respect this criterion can be viewed as swerving from an efficacious and comprehensive family policy, when it is not a threat to it. This is true in particular for the mediation mechanisms tending just because of their position, to remove or distort an adequate exchange of vital and valid communications between the family and the public institutions. It can also be proved that the major ill effects on family life emerge in the two social-political systems (that can be assumed as opposite ideal types) not governed by the principle just mentioned, i.e.:

(a) in the systems of residual welfare where family policy is viewed as a mere assistance and supplementary service for the un privileged classes that is, as a public intervention directed to support the family only in case of its failing to work or to be up to "its" tasks;

(b) in the systems of institutional (or total) welfare emphasizing a universalistic, strongly programmatic approach, i.e. acting in view of structural changes of the family according to a "plan" that is liable to be drawn up by central political bodies as well as by other sources.

If on the one hand it is certainly true that in all modern societies, but particularly in Europe, the family has become a public concern, on the other hand it is also true that we run the risk of wavering between these two patterns and in particular, owing to pressures for a more marked societal control, of passing ingenuously from the first to the second type of family policy.

In connexion with my previous statements such shift is only illusively more efficacious: actually, ruinous outcomes may be hidden therein. In fact, if the residual pattern (upheld by a premodern principle of the supportive function of the public body) leaves the inequality relationships unchanged (traditional poverties) and makes the social stigmatization effects of the weakest people persist, new inequalities and stigmatizations are brought about by the pattern markedly inspired by institutionalism (new poverties), since a social overcontrol and over-heterodirection are imposed on the families, thus emptying them of vitality.

On the contrary, in this contribution I have tried to maintain the hypothesis that if a unifying family policy may somehow have a meaning, it cannot be only or just understood as a one-way concern of the public institutions (the State and its branches) for the well-being of the families (a relation that is and remains asymmetric), but rather as a way of communicating between the vital world of the families and the public institutions on the basis of reciprocity relations.

Therefore, it is not a matter of finding the way to shift from a residual pattern to an institutional welgare pattern , but rather of defining which criteria of action are possible and desirable today to improve the transactions between the

vital world of the families and the public institutions so that the mutual exchange may safely ensure the family autonomy in a sound environment, as well as equal chances of life in a free society?

Actually, this perspective is completely different from the perspective prevailing in the debate now in progress (on residual patterns and institutions) at international level. As a matter of fact concerns about safety and thus about the programming-systemic control tend to prevail and are stressed de facto, neglecting the questions concerning the meaning and the legitimation such measures can (or more often cannot) have within primary groups such as the family. But in the perspective that has been put forward here, the main concern is about a fair and efficacious balance between the right of the families to approach a standard of living adequate for their needs and the duty of these families to be responsible for it at any time in their relations with the public and the private sphere.

This can occur if the tasks of the family are: (a) not coercive, insofar as each adult member is given equal opportunities to be involved and to withdraw from his family activities; (b) communicating with the outside in such a way as to have - at a fair distance - contacts with other services concerned in the same needs, thus avoiding anomic and discrimination processes ; (c) meaningful per se, i.e. such as to offer sufficient room and opportunities for personal self-accomplishment.
This is the meaning of a possible unifying approach the inspiring principle of which forbids to consider it as a monistic approach (with stigmatizations), or an integrationist (conservative) or an alienating approach (because of the growing dependencies that are expected to be liable to occur in the families).

At the same time and as far as this approach will be inspired by the principles of specificity, consistency, comprehensiveness and reciprocity put forward here, such approach will be able to avoid the paternalism of the current predominant policies and their mostly reactive character.

It is certainly superfluous to add that it appears extremely difficult to implement such perspective, if not impossible in somebody's opinion. But it was and is my task to explore the sociological conditions for the realization of one possibility.

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Maria Luisa CASSAMAGNAGO

Constructing Europe with and for the families

Europe is now reality: everybody wants it to be, since all of us are seeking in the pacific cultural revolution this reality represents, a solution to our own aspirations, both as individuals and as citizen of a nation.

It seems to us that the problems of the defence of currency and employment, the problem of the mobility of resources and techniques, the problems of the introduction of young people into society and production, of the recovery of depressed areas depend on the supernational solutions we shall be able to voice. The new quality of life will be the result of such voicing abilities.

Europe can be all this: and yet, we still find it stuck in economic problems. It is true that they are important too, but we didn't wish Europe to remain just a common market;we wanted it to be men's and peoples' Europe.

It is difficult, we admit it, to overcome the economic sphere to enter the political and social one: Europe, conceived as common market, has to face a great deal of material

and financial problems interfering in its willingness to give itself a different and autnomous program.

On the other hand, one year of parliamentary democracy is still too short a period in the life of an institution.

Last year's elections have brought into the European Parliament people determined to start the process that is going to make of Europe the frontier for the humanization of develop ep societies, as an alternative to its present position of mediation area among blocs, of tongue of the scale between North and South. But specific historical situations are favouring both the conflicts between community interests and particular interests, and the emergence of a new type of "protagonism" whithin the representatives od the different States. On the other hand, owing to the crisis of the world community, to the tensions in the Third World particularly whithin Arab and Moslem countries, emphasized by the crisis of energy sources, a lot of spheres of power have lately been left vacant and are now inviting the various leaders to apply for important positions.

Sometimes Europe becomes the mirror where particular interests reflect, thus causing a delay in the setting up of the supernational body the elections had intended to estabilish.

Europe cannot disregard the events of the world and its task will vary according to situation. As far as superpowers are concerned, priority will be given to the question of peace and detente; in the relationships with the Third World instead, beside tackling economic and commercial problems, Europe will have to strive to bring the emerging countries to a collaboration on the same level. In both cases Europe must give its contribution to put an end to opposite blocs and to the armaments race, neither by creating a third bloc competing with the others nor by settin up new "protagonisms", but by fostering its own bent for freedom (for the happiness of all peoples and individuals who must be happier than now).

It is known, in fact, that the European economic integration, beside its positive aspects, has brought about irregular developments. Changing processes, only due to the spontaneous trends of economy, have increased the unbalances among the various European regions. The unequal distribution of production resources has been bringing about a strong flow of internal migrations for decades. More than twelve million people (workers and their families), are personally experiencing the meaning of an economic integration for which there is no tallying, equally wide-ranging, regional and social policy.

And so, the problems of migration, young people, depressed areas, which are unsolved at national level and for which we had wished a solution within a supernational body, are more seriously and meaningly arising again.

The challenge facing Europe does therefore no longer lie

either in a more rational administration of resources or in a better industrial democracy, but in its own credibility as an institution, in its own skill to bring about a crucial turning-point in civilization, where questions also concern the economicistic conception on the basis of which Western Europe had taken shape.

An ever increasing number of Europeans is in fact not only asserting its own right to work, but is also wondering about the very sense of work, the value of the product, the priorities of needs and aspitarions, the spontaneity of human relations. People are less and less satisfied with the quality of things produced and are more and more wondering what the real welfare is. And they wonder about this not by arguing theoretically, but by changing both their attitudes towards the values in which they seemed to be committed and their behaviour towards life, engagement, solidarity, a.s.o. Important signs like those relating to family and demography show how deeply Europeans feel the problems and the change occurring in their society. The general spread of the nuclear family model, the greater unsteadiness of family relations expressed through the increased number of cohabitations and divorces, woman's new position in society and her wish to work outside her homme, the crisis of the moral traditional behaviour, the decreasing birth-rate drawing near or below the replacement rate of the population: all these are aspects and trends that all the European countries have strikingly in common, though to a different extent. All of them may run certain risks as far as their own future and survival are concerned.

This means that, notwithstanding the difference and the specificness of each people, the crisis of the family as primary unit of society is taking place in every European country.

When a social system is giving priority, at national or world level, to single plans, the interests of the community, i.e. the interests of the family as such, are automatically pushed backwards and the family as a constitutive unit of society is gradually set aside.

On the other hand, we know that individual choices take place in a definite framework of social regulations and depend on the surrounding climate. If such a climate were unfavourable to the children's future, as it is now occurring in most European countries, also the couple intending to base their marriage on a free choice of love would perceive more the disadvantages than the satisfactions deriving from the birth and education of a child.

The family, that is a particularly interesting standpoint to grasp and interpret the changes and processes of society, is reacting immediately to this climate, to these

regulations not always made explicit, in an interlacement of feeling and interest, in the conflict between personal and political matters, between conservative oppositions and innovative tensions. Pushed by different ideologies, by influences and messages directly or indirectly given to it, the family is withdrawing to a private sphere both to defend itself against an over-intrusion of the public sphere and under the illusion to create, within itself, "a self-sufficient world" capable of setting it free from the intrusions of the public authorities.

Even if, among the institutions, the family is the one that has held out best against protest, its crisis is glaring. The family has lost its geographical unit; urbanization, the workers' mobility, have scattered the family units throughout the texture of the country. The working women's children, though the working women aren't many, are left in the care of the community at an ever lowering age and for an ever increasing spell. This is done not only for the children's instruction, as it would be right, but also for their education and upbringing. The family unit is destroyed for most of the day: its unity, which is a potential one, is attained again only during leisure time and this coming together is getting harder and harder.

The family has lost its powers of generating, educating and guiding to work and is now running the risk of losing also its last prerogatives and of delegating all its tasks to the community. This is very serious and dangerous since, in this way, the family merely based on affections is rejected and left without social roots, with not influence on real life, with no interest to assert itself as a change factor.

This situation leads to reflection, mainly when thinking of tomorrow's citizens that are going to carry the heavy burden of the experience of a social welfare-type orgaization where everybody is over and over left in the care of skilled bodies, from birth to death.

How can we face this situation? How can we prevent the family from giving in, how can we stop thistrend towards depriving and drawing out of the family all its capacity of being unselfish and generous, which was peculiar of it? How can we exhibit, through deeds, regard and respect at this moment of the history of the family and how can we withstand the temptation to overcome our political and cultural crisis as Europeans, without manipulating the family.

In my opinion we need to contribute all together, with renewed hope, to the construction of a more liveable world where justice, peace, mutual respect are the basis of a newly planned civilization, where there are better opportunities to participate as well as values, even transcendent, which to believe in.

In some European countries families have been the first to understand the absolute necessity to act all together to persuade the States to produce the economical, social and cul

tural conditions that are necessary to accomplish their mission and their responsibilities, which would otherwise be difficult to carry out. The families, whose solidarity is already a reality at national level, now intend to realize it also at European level, being convinced that the decisions of the European Community can effect their lives as the lot of the families can influence on the Community's destiny.

Europe is a new political institution: its treaties have no provision concerning, but the European Parliament is deeply convinced that no policy can really help men without any family dimension.

On the other hand, voluntarily or not, no European decision in the various fields of economic and social policy, of working regulations, of provisions about health and the environment, can be made and carried out without considering the family dimension.

The family, that is now on the top of its change, that is frail and vulnerable but at the same time lively and capable of proving its vitality by gearing to its time, is the natural place for the human growth of all its members, is the unit assuring a social existence to all its members. As such, it cannot be ignored.

Since the European Community is still in the opening phase of its plan and action, the presence of the families at European level is felt as necessary in order to orientate the general political decisions and to encourage the setting up of pluralistic institutions where social forces can unfold.

How can the European Community draw up at once its project with the families and for the families?

First of all on refraining from proposing pre-established models Europe should grant more space in making its political resolutions, to the aspects relating to the family; it should be regularly in contact with the various European family associations so as to receive widely and efficaciously the requests from their members, who are the ones that are going to indicate how to overcome the crisis occurring both in the family and also in the institutions. By encouraging the setting up of Centres of study on family problems in every European country, Europe should promote and support financially thorough and multi-disciplinary researches on the present and past situation of the family in each Country or groups of peoples, it should encourage the regaining of the history, the customs, the experiences and the traditions of the family in each anthropological and historical context, it should promote a comparison between the working groups and the political lobbies, and set up a review describing in detail, not only to the technicians of the various sectors but also to the people, the various subject under consideration.

The analysis of the compared situation and comparative social legislations, of the family education programs should be made later on , in my opinion, and should already represent a reply to the needs for comparison emerged in the individual study and research groups.

The engagement of the Community should be actual and tangible, neither imposing nor abusing of its office, based on trust in man and peoples, on the respect for nature, for history, for the vital experiences of every person and every groups.

The capability of belonging actively to one's own group, of forming a couple, of being complementary, of providing mutual aid will represent the issue indicating to what extent the institutions will have been able to give every man freedom and happiness within their geographical, historical and political boundaries.

Paul HUOT PLEUROUX

Rôle de la famille chrétienne en Europe

Vous n'avez sans doute pas manqué d'être étonnées, en parcourant le programme de ce Symposium, de voir que seule une communication portait, dans son titre, un point d'interrogation . Partout ailleurs, l'on nous a proposé des constatations, des expériences, des analyses de situation, des orientations: une seule question figure sur le programme: une action de l'Eglise dans la Communauté Européenne est-elle possible?

Serait-ce que nous en doutions? Serait-ce que les organisateurs de ce congrès nourrissent quelque soupçon tant sur la légitimité (la possibilité de droit) que sur l'efficacité d'une action de l'Eglise à propos des questions qui touchent directement à la famille et à la politique familiale en Europe? Nul d'entre nous, bien entendu, ne le pense. Alors pourquoi donc ce point d'interrogation? Je ne vois qu'une réponse satisfaisante: c'est pour nous réveiller et nous provoquer à une action plus efficace encoredemain qu'aujourd'hui, et pas seulement dans chacun de nos Pays, mais dans l'Europe qui se construit.

Avant de vous proposer quelques réflexion sur ce thème , permettez moi une précision: je n'ai évidemment aucune qualité pour parler ici "au nom de l'Eglise", fut-ce au nom de l'Eglise catholique à laquelle j'appartiens comme la plupart d'entre vous. C'est donc une réflexion personnelle que je vous proposerai, en parlant toutefois des deux lieux qui sont les miens: d'une part comme secrétaire du conseil des Conférences Episcopales d'Europe (CCEE), qui regroupe toutes les conférences

épiscopales des Pays de l'Ouest et de l'Est - de l'Atlantique à l'Oural, selon la formule presque consacrée! - d'autre part et surtout finalement, comme secrétaire général de la Commission des Episcopats de la Communauté Européenne (COMECE) qui vient d'être créée à Bruxelles.

Une action de l'Eglise, au sein de la C.E., est-elle possible?

Je reponderai affirmativement en faisant quatre observations.

1. Quand nous disons "Eglise", nous disons d'abord: peuple de Dieu . C'est-à-dire nous tous ici et en premier lieu vous les laïcs, dont la tâche (Le Concile l'a suffisamment rappelé) est de bâtir la Cité. Dans le domaine familial, plus qu'ailleurs encore si j'ose dire, l'action de l'Eglise, ce est d'abord l'affaire des laïcs qui témoignent par leur vie même de la grandeur de la famille et de l'amour humain et qui, par ailleurs, sont engagés dans le monde, au service de leurs frères et de la société en vue d'une vie plus humains et pas le plen conforme au dessin de Dieu. A vous voir réfléchir ici aux problèmes de la politique familiale en Europe, à voir l'action quotidienne que vous menez individuellement et collectivement dans les organismes et mouvements familiaux, au sein de chacun de vos Pays, ou dans les organisations de la Communauté Européenne il ne fait aucun doute que vous croyer à la nécessité et à la possibilité d'une action chrétienne en ce domaine. Ma première observation est donc un appel à une prise de conscience. Ne nous situons pas en extériorité par rapport à l'Eglise: son action,c'est d'abord la nôtre, c'est celle que vous menez continuellement, si modeste soit-elle! Il faut commencer par là.

2. Dans la ligne de ce qu'ont souligné plusieurs orateurs,nous devons cependant accroître notre conviction que, dans un monde socialisé comme le nôtre et dans une Communauté Européenne qui, en dépit de ses difficultés à se construire, travaille à harmoniser ses législations dans les domaines les plus divers, une action concertée est de plus en plus nécessaire. Telle est la raison même de nombreuses organisations internationales, qui peuvent faire entendre leur voix auprès des instances européennes. Il dépend de chacun de leurs membres qu'elles exercent une action efficace répondant à leur mission spécifique. L'action des organisation catholiques est ici complémentaire de celle qu'exercent de nombreux chrétiens qui travaillent dans des organisations non confessionnelles au sein du monde pluraliste qui est le nôtre. Les problèmes de la famille ne sont pas simplement d'ordre privé. Ils ne peuvent donc être résolus par la seule action individuelle - même si elle s'inspire d'une philosophie personnaliste- à fortiori par une action de francs-tireurs. Leur dimension publique et collective appelle nécessairement une concertation.

3. C'est cette conviction, qui a poussé les épiscopats eux-mêmes dans le sens d'une collaboration et d'une concertation plus affirmées, en lien étroit avec le Saint-Siège. Vous le savez: celui-ci est officiellement représenté auprès des Communautés Européennes et du Conseil de l'Europe par le Nonce Apostolique à Bruxelles et un Envoyé Spécial à Strasbourg, qui ont mission de faire connaître la pensée de la Eglise sur les questions traitées dans ces diverses instances. Mais les épiscopats ressentent aussi le besoin de travailler davantage ensemble, car les questions débattues et les résolutions prises par les instances de la Communauté Européenne les intéressent au premier chef, par les conséquences pastorales qu'elles entraînent, qu'il s'agisse des droits de l'homme en général, de la condition féminine, de la situation des travailleurs migrants, des problèmes éducatifs, bref de la conception de la société elle-même telle qu'elle se traduit dans les législations qui se mettent en place. C'est la raison majeure qui est à l'origine de la création de la Commission des Episcopats de la Communauté Européenne, à Bruxelles le 3 mars dernier, et qui me vaut, entre autres l'honneur de vous adresser la parole.

   Je puis vous assurer que les problèmes qui vous préoccupent et qui ont fait, durant ces trois jours, l'objet de nos réfléxions sont déjà pris et seront pris au sérieux par cette nouvelle structure de concertation épiscopale européenne. Je n'en veux pour preuve que ceci: une des premières décision prise par les déléqués des conférences épiscopales réunies le 12 juin dernier a été de travailler sans tarder - en lien d'une part avec les questions posées dans les instances européennes, et d'autre part avec le thème du prochain Synode des évêques, sans oublier la conférence mondiale des Nations Unies qui se tiendra à Copenhague dans la seconde quinzaine de Juillet - sur "la femme dans la société et dans l'Eglise". Nous ferons tout ce qui est en notre pouvoir pour que la dimension familiale à laquelle nous croyons et dont le Pape Jean Paul II rappelait encore l'importance première dans son discours devant l'assemblée générale de l'UNESCO, soit présente à tous les problèmes économiques, sociaux et culturels.

4. Une dernière observation. Dans quelle direction l'Eglise peut-elle exercer son action? Je la résumerais volontiers, et très brièvement, à l'aide de quatre verbes actifs:

   - il me semble que nous avons d'abord à éveiller - ou réveiller - les consciences, et à faire prendre la mesure exacte des problèmes qui nous sont posés. Un défi considérable est lancé au monde d'aujourd'hui en ce qui concerne l'avenir de l'homme, de la famille, de la société. Il nous appartient, me semble-t-il, de rendre nos contemporains attentifs à ce qui est en train de se jouer, souvent à leur insu.

   - nous avons, en second lieu, tout à la fois à promouvoir les valeurs authentiques que représentent pour nous la dignité de l'amour conjugal et de la famille, le mariage, la fidélité,

le respect de la vie sous toutes ses formes etc..et, en même temps, à dénoncer les nouvelles idoles que sont l'argent, l'ambition, le sexe, la société de consommation la permissivité. On attend, sur ce point, une parole libératrice de l'Eglise et des chrétiens.

- reste enfin à s'engager depuis le niveau très humble d'un comité de quartier ou d'une association de parents d'élèves, jusqu'à l'engagement, social ou politique, pour être là où les orientations et les décisions se prennent, dans nos Pays respectifs, comme dans la Communauté Européenne. Nous ne pourrons créer, pour reprendre les expressions de M.Joseph Gilles, des conditions de vie, un cadre de vie, une qualité de vie qui incluent la possibilité pour l'homme de s'épanouir humainement et spirituellement, qu'en étant actifs, dans les centres mêmes de décision.

C'est sur ce plaidoyer pour l'action que je voudrais terminer. Il est certes indispensable que nous passions du temps à étudier les problèmes, à les analyser, à en mesurer toutes les dimensions à réfléchir à toutes leurs conséquences, à dire publiquement notre pensée. Mais peut-être restons-nous - du moins l'immense majorité d'entre nous - encore trop souvent et trop exclusivement des hommes de la parole et pas assez des réalisations concrètes.

N'est-ce pas l'Evangile lui-même qui affirme: "ce ne sont pas ceux qui disent 'Seigneur, Seigneur', qui entreront dans le Royaume de Dieu, mais ceux qui font la volonté du Père", et ailleurs: "celui qui fait la vérité, vient à la lumière".

Oui, une action de l'Eglise est possible dans le cadre de la Communauté Européenne: il suffit de la vouloir.

Jack DOMINIAN

State, Church, Research and Marital Breakdown

Introduction

As we enter the 80's one subject will attract increasing attention throughout Western society. This subject is marital breakdown. Divorce rates vary between 20% - 40% and one publication, studying eleven European countries, sums up the situations as follows:

" In all countries there has been during this century a very marked increase in divorce frequency, with divorce growing from a relatively negligible phenomenon to a practice of considerable social and sociological significance..... all of the countries studies have seen a constantly upward trend in divorce from some point around 1960 or just after"

One illustration of this increase is the rise of divorce in England and Wales from 25,000 on 1961 to 143,000 in 1978.

Divorce has several implications. It undoubtedly contributes to the distress of the spouses who may take some years to recover from the trauma (2). It contributes to the distress

of the children. Recent studies from the United States suggest it takes at least two years for children from a divorce home to return to a state comparable to children whose family has remained intact (3). It contributes to an unknown and variable degree to the capacity of children of divorced parents to form their own future intimate relationships. All this is the private cost to the members of the family. There is a public cost to the State and the Community. This public cost consists of supporting the single divorced parent, taking children into public care, legal fees, the cost of health, consulting doctors from the stress arising from marital tension, admitting patients who attempt suicide to hospital, absenteeism from industry and loss of efficiency whilst remaining at work. An approximate calculation of cost in England & Wales is of the order between L. 500 and L. 1000 million annually.

The Christian Churches are opposed to divorce and the Roman Catholic Church takes a particularly strict view. Outsiders - and even Roman Catholics -tend to think that the position of the Church is a dogmatic one and not that of compassionate concern. It seems to me that, in this matter as in so many others, the Church's attitude is fundamentally concerned with human integrity and ultimate values. No one can honestly say that marital breakdown is a good thing. It may be inevitable and the whole of society and the Church has to take a compassionate attitude to the divorced. But that is no reason for not preserving with the sense of the ideal which is that of stability and continuity. Where there is room for change is for the Church and the State to stop ignoring the reality of breakdown and play an active part in its prevention. Hitherto both have relied on the law for prevention. In particular in catholic countries the absence of legal divorce has given a false security that breakdown does not exist. This is utterly incorrect. Breakdown is affecting all Western countries whether divorce exists or not.

My theme and plea in this paper is for both State and the Church to recognise that major forces of change are occuring in Western society; also slowly spreading in other parts of the World and these changes need recognising and responding to. We need a strategy for alleviating the distress of the divorced and for the prevention of divorce. In this paper I examine briefly the latter.

In order to do this we need to understand some of the reasons for marital breakdown. Here research is giving us valuable clues. The greater our understanding of the reasons for breakdown, the more efficient we shall become in preventing it. I shall now outline the fruits of research under two categories; namely the global and the specific factors for marital breakdown.

Global Factors

I shall refer to four global factors which affect Western society. The first is the ever growing emancipation of woman and therefore an inevitable change in the woman-man relation-

ship which impinges most fully on marriage. The second still concerns women. I refer to pregnancy and the size of the family. The size of the family has been reduced. The advent of widespread birth regulation means that the couple have their family when they want it. With the modern advances in medicine, the overwhelming majority of pregnancies are successful and mortality of infants extremely low. This means that women are free to an unprecedented degree to return to work once the family is old enough or sometimes whilst the children are very young. Work for women means economic independence. It also means that they will not stay in a destructive marriage because of economic reasons. Economic emancipation places new challenges for the family. The third and most subtle reason is what I have called the desire to experience a deeper layer of being. What I mean by this is the following. The rise of material standards in the West has meant that poverty is all forms has diminished. As spouses experience the availability of work, housing, economic affluence, then - with these needs met - they begin to explore a deeper layer. This is the layer of feelings, emotions and instincts. The married nowadays want not only economic and social wellbeing but also emotional and instinctual satisfaction. Finally, the State has increasingly intervened in the world of the family taking over some of its traditional responsibilities in health, education and care of the young and elderly. Thus members of the family are freer to pursue personal objectives of realising their full potential.

Specific Factors

What is needed is an understanding of how these global factors and expectations are related to specific social and psychological events in the life of the couple. The global ideology needs translating into concrete individual factors. These factors have been studied extensively and we now know a great deal more of the circumstances which render a marriage vulnerable. First of all the social factors can be examined.

Social Factors

(i) Age at Marriage
Age at marriage has been found consistently to have a bearing on marital outcome. If the bride is under 20, the risk of marital breakdown (4,5) is increased, If the groom is also under the age of 20, the risk is further increased.

(ii) Couple who enter marriage with a premarital pregnancy are also vulnerable. (6,7) When the couple is under 20 and a premarital pregnancy is also presente, the risk is very high indeed (8,9).

(iii) Social Class, Income & Education Both in England & Wales and in the U.S. it has been found that there is an inverse relationship between socioeconomic status and divorce. The lower the socioeconomic standing the higher is the divorce (10,9)

(iv) Social Class & Marriage There is evidence that both the risk factors mentioned, namely youthful marriage and pre

marital pregnancy, occur more frequently in the lower socio/economic group. This is a group where husbands have poorly paid jobs, whose poverty make it difficult to buy or rent a house compelling the couple to start marriage whit relatives, which is well known to cause difficulties (11).

(v) Courtship The duration and character of courtship have been shown to relate to marital outcome. Hasty marriage are risky propositions (12) and so are broken engagements, particularly several separations.

(vi) Preedom Reluctance to marry which is overcome by pressure is also dangerous and couples should ensure that both want to marry equally.

Here are several factor that are well established in the American and British research literature. It is a waste of energy to ignore them in practical terms. It is true that there is nothing absolute about any of them but statistically their presence is most important. They are warning signals . How can they be used?

As far as the Church is concerned, it is possible to use this information in a variety of ways. When a couple approach their priest for a wedding in church - and large numbers still do - an opportunity is presented to get to know them and to evaluate each of the factors concerned in either a premarital course of during their preparation by the priest.

Are the couple too young? If they are it is important to establish the reasons for this, Young marriages may be the custom of the social class to which the couple belong; in which case the risk involved in less because the extended family of parents and relatives are likely to support the couple. If , however, this is not the practice of the social class of the couple or the parents are opposed to the marriage, then there is scope for reflection. Are the couples escaping from intolerant home conditions? Are they emotionally deprived and seeking immediate confort with no foresight for the future ? They may be advised against haste and encouraged to learn more about each other. If the couple persist, then they will become one married couple who need special support after they get married. There is also a role to play in the reconciliation of parents and the couple.

Next, the premarital pregnancy is considered. By now everyon should know that, if the couple don't care about each other, then such a pregnancy is no reason for marriage. Forced marriages arising out of pregnancy are totally contra-indicated and, since abortion is not an acceptable Christian answer the pregnant mother needs the special support of Church and community.

Finally the character of courtship is an invaluable warning. If the courtship is hasty and punctuated by conflict then once again counselling should offer second thoughts. In particular, if one spouse is prone to gambling, excessive drin

king, violence, then the other should consider seriously the visdom of marriage. Wives oftan believe that their love will be sufficient to convert their husband. In some cases this happens but often it does not and it is a wise precaution to see the change before the marriage.

By imposing a period of waiting between six months and a year between the time a couple approach their parish priest and the actual wedding, most couples can have the chance to find much more about themselves in dialogue with the priest.

The State is less influential at this stage but it can also contribute its part. It can begin to organise premarital courses through existing marriage agencies. More specifically it can support the single mother financially so that she can look after the baby without being economically at a disadvantage. Even more specifically, the State can help those who are in poor social circumstances. If special financial arrangements can be made to make it possible for every newly married couple to rent or buy suitable accommodation, this will be an important contribution to marital stability. Also at a time of growing unamployment, the married man needs not only financial support but also something to do to preserve his dignity and get out of the home where be often feels frustrated, irritable or apathetic. Whilst almost everyone is able to claim some unemployment benefit, there are no plans to use the unemployed in some working capacity which can help both the community and the unemployed person.

Psychological Factors

So far I have mentioned social factors; there are also psychological ones which have been unearthed by research. Here there is less unanimity but the findings cannot be ignored. One long-standing theory of spouse attraction suggests that like marries like. In fact there is no doubt that we often marry somebody from our own background, so that we establish a common outlook on life. But if we marry someone like outselves, then neurotics attract neurotics (13,14). This now has been challenged and instead suggested that when one neurotic marries, the spouse is not necessarily also neurotic but becomes so as a result of interaction (15). Thirdly there is the view that opposites attract each other (16).

If we take these factors individually then there is room for preventive work in each instance. If it is judged that a couple have a high level of anxiety, then counselling can help them see that both will need security to cope with their anxiety. If one is anxious and the other not, both need to be counselled against the danger whereby the anxious one becomes a recluse and slowly insists that their spouse also becomes one. If the couple are patently opposite in character, such as dominant and dependent, confident and shy, extrovert and introvert, demonstrative andwithdrawn, then counselling can also be given that growth and change can occur in one partner changing their needs profoundly. So care is needed to ensure that there is sufficient love and commitment to ensue the mar

riage will survive despite changes in the personality.

The Advent of Children

Marriage almost invariably leads to having children. This event has been proclaimed with raptureus joy and so it should be. The advent of new life is an occasion for rejoicing. What however, is ignored in the midst of the euphoria is that children demand a high price from the life of the parents, particularly that of the mother.

When taking the history of a marital problem very often one is told that the problem started many years ago with the birth of a particular child. Is this a coincidences or is there a vital link here? The answer is that there is indeed a vital link (19). Women who have had a child can be subjected to severs mental illness which is rare and other syndromes which are more common. In these circumstances mother begin to feel tired, irritable, depressed and lose their sexual drive. This is known as post-puerperal depression which can last weeks, month and sometimes years with the most devastating effect on the marriage. These depression are experienced by all social classes (17), but they are to be found more commonly in working class mothers who are not working and are not supported by a husband or intimate man friend (18).

In the course of this contact with families, the priest can recognise the tired, unkempt, depressed mother and recommend seeking help, particularly from a doctor. The State has also responsibilities of ensuring the pre-school children can be looked after in nurseries or equivalent centres, if mother needs to go out to work for her health.

Above all both Church and State have the responsibility of ensuring the widest availability of methods of birth regulation with the conscience of the individual which ensure that every couple can organise responsibly their family size so that the marriage is not overwhelmed by too rapid or excessive childbearing.

Early Years of Marriage

The factors mentioned so far are all involved just before or during the early years of marriage. Research has shown that the first five years of marriage are crucial for the future of marriage. Some 30 to 40% of broken marriages separate during these early years(9) and, what is more, the problems established during these years can become the basis of breakdown later on. Here both Church and State have important roles to play.

As far as the Church was concerned, the wedding day was the culmination of interest of the marriage. What happened to couple afterwards was their affair provided they could consummate their marriage. But in fact the wedding is the beginning of marriage as an unfolding relationship and the pastoral care of the married is a specific responsability which will need new pastoral strategies in the future. The early years in particular will need to be supported but so will the rest of marriage.

The State and society have also responsibilities here. The prevision of adequate housing has already been noted . The provision of financial support for mothers if they want to stay at home and look after their young children and effective facilities for young children if the mother goes out to work. Opportunities of work for both parents so they can both work in a way which allows them to look after their young children and the provision of widespread and effective counselling for marital and psycholsexual problems are also needed. All this and more is called for to ensure that these early years are negotiated without irrestrievable damage.

Education

As marriage is moving towards a companionship relationship, the ability to meet its requirements will need education. Children are, of course, educated by their upbringing at home. They will learn a great deal from the way their parents relate. But education means going to school and here we need to expand our education from the traditional three. R.^{s} into four R.^{s}; the fourth R. standing for personal relationships between the sexes. Roys and girls need to learn increasingly how their personalities differ and how they complement each other. Both, but particularly boys, need to learn and understand about feelings and emotions. Both need a sexual education that teaches about sexual feelings. We know a great deal about all this but we need to educate the teachers who in turn can educate the children. Finally we need to educate young people for marriage. This is a responsability both for the Church and State.

Research and Commitment

What I have described in the way of research findings and their contribution to our understanding of marital breakdown is only a small outline of our knowledge. My aim is to draw attention to a body of knowledge that exists here and now and should be used both by the Church and the State. I am committed to the view that research on marriage and the family is an essential part of understanding modern marriage and its problems. For this we need to switch resources from education of the 3 R^{s} to emphasize the need of understanding the fourth R, relationship in marriage. The Church in particular cannot emphasize the indissolubility of marriage without understanding how modern marriage operates in the West. Research results are an essential means for understanding and supporting couples.

Research alone is not sufficient. We need to use the fruit of research with a basic commitment towards indissolubility. This basic commitment comes from faith. Thus I see the immediate future for marriage to be an alliance between faith and social science. Faith provides the commitment and dynamism to go on working at marital difficulties. The motivation to perservere springs from grace. But grace need the assistance of human understanding. This is where research is

vital. If couples know what they have to overcome, then their motivation springing from faith will be infinitely more effective.

The Future of Marriage

Despite the enormous increase of divorce, there is no disenchantment with marriage. Second marriages are extremely common and something like 90% of the community marries. The task of State and Church is not to promote marriage but to safeguard it. In the past this was done bu rigid rules. The law is no longer effective. Indeed, the law is a blunt instrument for initiating and preservind love. In Western Christian society love is a response to God, the source of love, experienced and translated in personal relationships. The commitment to preserve the integrity of marriage springs from and reflects human love taken up in the divine order. The human element needs nurturing from the social sciences and the divine from God.An alliance between the two is my vision for the 80s where human love reaches divine love and divine love inspires and transforms the human element. For the Christian the combination of the two is the answer to divorce.

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Charles C. VELLA

Closing of the International Symposium on "Family policy in Europe

We have now come to the end of this Symposium and I would like now, rather than present actual conclusions, to offer just a moment of reflection in order to help towards an actions at national and European level, so as to make the aims of the Symposium effective and to prevent this meeting from ending in a leave-taking of the participants with no follow-up.

I shall therefore try to answer concisely a few questions I put to myself from the start of our planning this Symposium.

1. What were our expectations in relation to this meeting?

As I stated in my opening speech, we have tried to awaken to a greater extent the interest towards the topics concerning the family and to encourage the strengthening of such an institution, so as to make it a change factor of society and to prevent it from just falling a victim to society itself. This purpose had led us to urge the intervention of politicians (particularly within the European Community) reminding them that it is impossible "to build Europe without considering, first of all and at each level, the role of the family". I certainly don't venture to say that these aims have been reached, but I am convinced that the meaning of our meeting here - in an atmosphere of brotherly dialogue in search of common perspectives -

has been that of starting a process that, I hope, will make it possible some day to approach as much as possible, if not to reach, these aims.

Personally, my impression based on what I have been able to grasp during these days is that:

. the moment is particularly suitable to bring the argument outside this Auditorium, as the family is nowadays felt to be re-evaluated notwithstanding crisis, tensions and pessimistic prophecies of futurologues.
. This re-evaluation will necessarily have to hinge on the families themselves that are able to rely upon one another, within their environment, in small groups, according to the statement of Rev. Masamba ma Mpolo in his report on "Family power social change".

It would be therefore better, instead of wondering what politicians can do, to ask oneself what families can do.

2. What can CISF do as a follow-up of the International Symposium ?

I hope that the follow-up of the Symposium will not be limited to the publication of the Proceedings and of news articles, as it is clearly necessary, in Italy, to raise the interest of political parties, politicians, public bodies and mass-media on this topic.

It is enough to say that most of the Italian members of Parliament, of different parties, attending the works are women. Actually, as far as social problems related to the family are concerned, they are much more committed than their male colleagues. I wish therefore to thank them in particular for having given, through their presence, a proof of assiduity.

As for Italy, I think that CISF should address itself with the highest confidence to the Italian Committe of the International Union of Family Organizations, the Chairman of which, Dr. Sandro Vota, is attending our meeting.

I hope that this Committe will be supported by the Italian movements concerned with the family (as, we have seen, it occurred with the Confederazione Coltivatori Diretti (Farmers' Association), so as to start arousing a greater interest on family policy in Italy.

As it has already been said, CISF will try, at European level, to rely on COFACE, to which it will assure again its collaboration, as it did for this Symposium.

Furthermore, in order to go on with this topic CISF intends to ask to become a Consultative member of the Council of Europe , continuing at the same time its own collaboration with the Family Education Office of the World Council of Churches and with the International Confederation Christian Family Movements, represented here by the chairing couple, Mssrs. Roland and Isabelle Leroux.

3. Conclusion

This congress has now reached its conclusion but not its end, for I hope it will go on living a useful experience in all of us.

I think that the most important result we have achieved in this Symposium is not the formulation of theories and replies, but, above all, the awareness and conviction that if we want to, we can join effort to build, notwithstanding ideological discrepancies and differences in nationality, faith and cultural environment, a sort of Europe and of society steered towards the family.

The key to all this is not perhaps to be found in policy but in love, in the quality of life and in the quality of the relation existing among all the member of the family.

Thanks to everybody!

Charles G. VELLA

Clôture du Congrès international sur le thème "Politique de la famille en Europe

Nous sommes arrivés à la fin de ce Congrès et j'aimerais, plutôt que de tirer des conclusions, offrir une pause de réflexion pour encourager une action sur le plan national et européen afin de pouvoir réaliser les buts de ce Congrès et d'empêcher que cette réunion finisse en un au revoir des participants, au revoir destiné à rester sans suite.

J'essayerai donc de répondre brièvement à certaines questions que je me suis posées, dès le début de l'organisation de ce Congrès.

1. Quelles étaient nos perspectives pour cette réunion?

Comme je l'ai dit dans mon discours d'ouverture, nous avons essayer de susciter un grand intérêt sur l'argument concernant la famille et d'encourager le renforcement de cette institution afin d'en faire un facteur de modification de la société et d'empêcher que la famille puisse être victime de la société elle même. Ce but nous a portés à solleciter la participation des politiciens (particulièrement ceux de la Communauté européenne) en leur rappelant qu'il est impossible de "bâtir l'Europe sans considérer, avant tout et à tous niveaux, le rôle de la famille". Je ne m'aventurerais certainement pas à dire que ces buts ont été atteints mais je suis convaincu que le sens de notre réunion ici, dans une atmosphère de dialogue fraternel, à la

recherche de buts communs, aura été le début d'un processus qui nous permettra, un jour, d'approcher le plus possible de la réalisation de ces buts eux-mêmes.

Mon impression personnelle, basée sur ce que j'ai pu saisir ces derniers jours, est la suivante:

. Le moment est particulièrement favorable pour porter cet argument hors de cet auditorium, étant donné que la famille est en pleine réévoluation malgré la crise, les tensions et les prophéties pessimistes de ceux qui prévoyent le futur.
. Cette réévaluation devra nécessairement se baser sur les familles elles-mêmes qui seront ainsi capables de s'entraider, dans chaque milieu, en formant des petits groupes, comme l'a souligné dans son exposé "Pouvoir de la famille dans le changement social", le Révérend Masamba ma Mpolo.

C'est la raison pour laquelle il voudrait mieux, au lieu de se demander ce que peuvent faire les politiciens, se demander ce que les familles elles-mêmes peuvent entreprendre.

2. Que peut faire le CISF pour donner suite à ce Congrès International?

J'espère que la continuation de ce Congrès ne se bornera pas à la seule publication d'actes ou d'articles, même s' il est nécessaire, en Italie, de réveiller l'intérêt des partis politiques, des politiciens, du public et des mass-media sur ces problèmes.

Il suffit de dire que les nombreux membres italiens du Parlement, provenant de différents partis et ayant pris part aux travaux, sont des femmes. Actuellement, lorsqu'il s'agit de problèmes sociaux liés à la famille, elles se sentent beaucoup plus concernées que leurs collègues masculins. Je désire donc les remercier particulièrement pour nous avoir donné une preuve d'assiduité, grâce à leur présence.

Comme il l'a fait pour l'Italie, je pense que le CISF devrait s'adressen en toute confiance, au COmité Italien de l'Union Internationale des Organisations Familiales dont le Président, M. Sandro Vota, a participé à nos réunions.

J'espère que ce comité sera encouragé par les mouvements italiens particulièrement concernés par les problèmes familiaux (comme c'est le cas, nous l'avons vu, de la Confederazione coltivatori diretti, association paysanne) afin de susciter un intérêt toujours majeur envers la politique de la famille en Italie.

Comme nous l'avons déjà dit, le CISF s'appuyera, à niveau européen, sur le COFACE auquel il apportera toute sa collaboration, comme il l'a fait durant ce Congrès.

En outre, afin de promouvoir ces buts, le CISF a l'intention de demander son association, comme membre consultatif, au Conseil de l'Europe en continuant toutefois sa propre collabo

ration avec le Bureau pour l'éducation des familles qui fait partie du Conseil mondial des églises et avec la Confédération Internationale des mouvements chrétiens pour la famille, représenté ici par le couple président: M.Roland et Mme Isabelle Leroux.

3. CONCLUSION

Ce congrès est arrivé à sa conclusion mais pas à sa fin car j'espère que cette expérience utile continuera à vivre en nous tous. Je pense que le résultat le plus important que nous ayons obtenu au cours de ce Congrès n'est pas la formulation de théories ou de réponses mais surtout la conscience et la convinction que, si nous le désirons vraiment, nous pouvons unir nos efforts pour construire, malgré des différences idéologiques, de nationalité, de foi et de culte, une Europe et une société basée sur la famille.

La clé de tout cela est de ne pas compter uniquement sur la politique mais sur l'amour, sur la qualité de la vie et des relations qui existent entre chaque membre de la famille.

Merci à tous!

GENERAL REPORTS OF THE

W O R K S H O P S

WORKSHOPS N. 1/2, 3, 6

General Rapporteur: Louis GALEA

I have to Report on the rich and various discussion in the three workshops that centred upon the relations of the family with:

. Employment and Social Security
. Housing and
. Law

As a result of the passage through the successive filters of various chairmen and rapporteurs each of whom was bound to condense conclusions into a briefer form thant his predecessors, the Report now consists of the following salient points.

A) EMPLOYMENT

With regard to the adaptation of work conditions to the needs of family life the main foci of discussion were the following:

1) The reduction of the hours of work should yield more free time available for family life and, therefore, concerns parents in the first place. Measures reducing hours of work need to be applied with great flexibility and after serious consultation with all concerned, in particular with family organizations.

2) Given the great importance of maternel, parental and similar kinds of leave, in particular of parental leave, it is important that unpaid workers such, as farmers wiaes and the self-employed, be able to benefit from a service of substitute (stand-in) provision.

3) Helping parents to solve the problems of child-care and education requires, in addition to nurseries and parental leave after birth, the establishmen of leave for the care of sick children aged persons or the handicapped, and the development of home help and similar services.

4) A better correlation between hours of work on one hound and hours of schools and other establishments on the other is also desirable.

5) The position of women at work could not be covered by a single statute and it should be part of a family statute. Monoparental families should be catered for, and solidarity between persons of all ages encouraged.

B) SOCIAL SECURITY

With regards to social security in a family perspective two main observations emerged:

1) A State's system of social security should be based on the principle of universal coverage, but its forms should be determined according to the specific needs of each family unit, considered as a provider of primary services and in proportion to the burden of its tasks.

2) Social security systems must be maintained in times of economic crisis. Family allowances should not be allowed to be the first to suffer cuts through the lack of defenders as forceful as other interest groups.

C) HOUSING

When this group came to discuss housing they noted that:

1) There are several ways in which the State should give concrete application to the right of each family to the housing it needs: by land use planning; by financial schemes to help families build, buy or renew their dwelling-places; by itself building social, individual or group housing for sale or renting,; by subsidies to help low-income families meet rent or the special expenses of moving house.

2) A special importance should be given to avoiding the creation of ghettoes by age-groups or social class, inorder to encourage conviviality, i.e. the capacity for deep interpersonal relationships between human beings of different kinds and in different family situations.

3) Special importance should also be given to the means of public transportation. Their efficiency may be the way to meet two housing needs, namely - location in an unpolluted atmosphere and avoidance of everlenghty journeys to places of work.

4) The State, in planning and establishing collective services and equipment, such as nurseries, playgraunds,schools, churches, shops, hospital, meeting places, in particular neighbourhoods should ensure the representation of fami-

lies in the planning and decision taking bodies.

5) The State should also encourage research about the most economical construction methods and ensure the diffusion of the relevant information

D) FAMILY LAW

The groups on family law made some general points on European family law and then concerntreted on the law concerning divorce:

1) the family law of European states in order to provide a comprehensive framework adapted to modern family life , has to take into greater account a number of matters in adequately dealth with at present. These include,in par ticular:

. the grounds for and consequences of divorce;
. The situation of unmarried couples;
. the question of children of divorced parents and of children born out of wedlock;
. the provision of maintenance for a spouse and especially for custody and maintenance for children.

2) A system of family courts is also required, in order that judges, lawyers and court staff specializing in family questions may have sufficient time and experience to gi ve proper consideration to the numerous and often complex elements involved in family law cases.

3) Wherever possible, a common European approach should be adopted in order to avoid unnecessary divergencies in the family law of the different states.

4) The European States should implement the various interna tional instruments in the field of family law. These ins truments include notably:

. the European convention on recognition and enforcement of decisions concerning custody of children and restoration of custody of children;
. the European convention on the legal status of children born out of wedlock;
. the European convention on the adoption of children

5) With particular regard to divorce, the following points emerge:

a) the increasingly high divorce rate shows the need not only for education of persons in preparation for marriage and for their role-set in the family but also for information about how to deal with certain problems wich can arise in the course of married lige. There is also need forresearch into the factors leading to divor ce.

b) the existence of different grounds accepted by different European States as a basis for divorce encourage a spouse to seek divorce in a foreign country (forum--shopping). Problems may arise, as a result, concerning the recognition of the divorce and its consequen-

ces. This illustrates the need for a common European approach wherever possible;

c) There is, in fact, a tendency in various states towards adopting the concept of "irretrievable breakdown" as the essential ground for divorce. This should eventually make the notion of "fault" irrelevant. In case of the ground irretrievable breakdown, proof should be given that the breakdown is really irretrievable and that the marriage has in fact failed. The notion of irretrievable may be taken to require other tests in addition to a time-factor and consensus of the parties, such as adeguate counselling. Counselling services can be, of course, more useful at an earlier stage, but they can also be useful at a later stage, i.e. in order to reach agreement on such matters as custody of children and sharing of property after a divorce has been granted. Such counselling can be provided either by State Welfare services or by voluntary agencies and it should be confidential.

d) the interests of children involved in divorce cases should be particulary looked after not only through the separate representation of the child, but also through the court obtaining information from the child itself, welfare officers and psychologist. In some countries, there is a hardship clause in the law relating to divorce preventing a spouse otaining a divorce where it could cause serious hardship to the children.

N.B.

A) The following remarks were made by one of the participants during interventions made by the Assembly:

- . More than the reduction of work, the present insecurity surrounding employment possibilities is fundamental to families.
- . The consequences of decisions taken by the multinationals (vide ILO code of conduct and duties by such enterprises) without consulting the workers and their families should also be evalued in a discussion regarding family policy.

B) The Symposium agreed to request CISF to find ways and means to support and influence initiatives dealing with international adoption (vide U.N.attempts) and in so doing to work closely with BICE.

WORKSHOPS N. 4,5,9

General Rapporteur: Nicholas COOTE

Observations of the Group discussing Health, the Family and the Child

1. Since child development is critically affected by the pre, peri and post natal periods:

   .preparation for responsible parenthood must involve education in the health requiremente of the pre-natal period - a need particularly observable in rural areas.

   Preparation for child birth involves training obstetrical personnel to minister to the human and personal needs of both parents, in early years both parents should be enabled to attend to the child, through possibilities of part time work, leave at times of the child's illness; they should be assisted by contact with other parents and specialists; parental roles should be equalised and exchanged.

2. The family is not the only place where good physical mental and spiritual health is founded, but also where abnormalities and behaviour problems may develop.

   Diagnostic, preventive and therapeutic actions must be

based on collaboration between family members and a multi--disciplinary professional team, with the general practitioner in a key role.

Professional health care personnel must be trained to understand the situation of the family as a whole being sensitive to the needs all, and to encourage families to share in the responsibility of their own health care.

3. Family solidarity and co-operation beings at local level, and can be assisted in the health care field as well by fostering mutual help groups; this will not only improve family orientated health care, but will include groups with special needs eg. families of migrants.

4. Families and family movements in Europe should show their solidarity with families around the world and their conciousness of the effects of the export and marketing of such products as tobacco products,some pharmaceutical products and breast-milk substitutes. They should contribute to a programme of education and information on these matters,they should call for national regulation to ensure that the health needs of families elsewhere are not ignored in export and marketing.

Observations of the Group discussing Migration and the family

The position of migrant families is a good test of the completeness, or otherwise, of general family policy. They should not be regarded as the object of a very special and separate policy: rather they belong to the more deprived categories of the population. A policy on migrant families amounts to taking notice of the condition of the internal geographical mobility of every nuclear family in today's world, with the resulting conditions which occur social, ethnic, religious, national and cultural pluralism.

The migrant family is not one particular social problem, but a problem of society itself where the traditional links have been weakened:

between right of blood and tights of territory, rights of territory and rights of nationality and citizenship.

The problem is particularly a responsibility of Europe, since apart from the largenumbers involved, the closing of the frontiers to new foreign workers prolonged or made permanents the residence of earlier migrants - hence the problems of the reunited family and the second generation.

If work is permitted forthe first migrant member of the family then security of work, residence and ultimately rights of nationality are required for the worker. Suitable non-ghet to accommodation and social amenities are requires.

With the arrival of the family, desirable in itself,there arises the need for access to all the public services,for the rights to work and for social integration of the wife , and when of age, the children.

There are also consequent questions of access to nationality. In the meantime there needs to be access to social housing, and to schools (which will require some adeguate facilities for assisting the process of fundamental integration of the young generation).

If family policy is taken seriously then the migrant family's position must be a consituent part of it. first step is a compaign of information and sensitisation, to convince public opinion of this needs. (Would it be unfair to observe that the very small size of this group indicates that this symposium has still this lesson to learn?).

Observations of the Group discussing social services and health services

1. Family Centred Services

The need for social and counselling services to be truly family centered is not only to avoid fragmentations of services according to different needs, or persons in the family, or types of family; but also to avoid deskilling the family and treating it as an object of care. Ratherr as a subject it should be enabled to share in decisions, ne enables to develop skills of social care, and should be in a position of relative autonomy vis-a-vis the providing services.

It is to be recognised that the achievement of such relative autonomy will require larger arrangements in the social and economic arrangements of society, so that residual or total monopolistic systems of care are equally avoided.

2. Voluntary Sector

A strong and well funded voluntary sector, is of value in avoiding a monopolistic structure, so that a pluralism of structure and organisations avoids the predominance of any one set of working presuppositions. Similarly, pluralism in this sense is required within a given structure, statutory or non-statutory, to respond to the different needs,cultures and forms of family, many of them regarded as defective forms by modern society.

Pluralism presents a problems of conscience when it extends to values in such matters of life and death as abortion.However the work of counselling (and care) required that the practitioner refrain from imposing his own value system, whilst not concealing the available options.

The existence of the voluntary section is also of importance to families, since it extends from the full time paid employee of large non-statutory organisations through a spectrum of part-time volunteers and helpers who are the closest, and possibly most sensitively adapted to giving first assistance to informal networks of family care when they are in difficulty.

Counselling services have largely been provided by the voluntary sector, where statutory or at least professional recognition of status, training, qualifications.and standards does not exist, public authorities should be urged to act.

Since much "voluntary" work is in fact in the public domain, there is an acknowledged obligation of adequate training, standards etc. It should be added that re-training and continuous training is sometimes equally urgent in the statutory service where experience can be lacking. The State should recognise the corresponding obligation of funding -in any case the costs of services aiming at avoiding family disintegration are more than compensated by the lessening of the costs to the public purse of paying for the consequences of break-up.

3. Social Spending

It must be urged most strongly on public authorities that social spending should not be made contingent upon economic improvement.

Given the link between family and society, and the likelihood that crisis in family means crisis in society, spending on social services and counselling services should be regarded as an essential defence of society. At all times, even in economic depression, the State spends what it considers adequate on defence against external enemies, it must equally be prepared to spend on internal defence - of

its own existence against internal disintegration.

More positively failure to convert in times of economic depression is a recipe for continued failure. Spending on social services and counselling services are an investment in the families which provide the foundations of future society. It may be likened to working capital.

Possible additions to report of Group 9 (Social and Counselling Services)

One delegate required the addition to the effect that, we do impose values on others, even as counsellors or social workers, when we call in the police eg in cases of assault and violence. Therefore there is not unanimous agreement to the reports statement that as counsellors we do not impose values.

This one delegate was in a very small minority in the group discussion (indeed no overt support for his position, which really concerned abortion, was discernible).

Observation (personal) by the Group/General Rapporteur:

(i) When the police are called in, this is either by the social worker/counsellor acting as a citizen, rather than a professional, just as any other citizen would act or if, by the professional as such, he/she is acting in obdience to, in virtue of a specific statutory responsability requiring him (or parmitting him explicitly) to act in this way.

(ii) Unfortunately, other people who do not share our values about respect for life, do not regards abortion as a lethal or violent act, in the same way as a homicide or act of physical violence. Nor it there any question of being able to call in the police, unless the action is illegal.

(iii) In a crisis of conscience, the counsellor must (a) reveal all the options without concealment (b) if necessary pass the case to a colleague if the process becomes personally intolerable.

(iv) This does not amount to indifference to values, nor to formal or proximate material co-operation in a gravely sinful action.

Nor does it prevent the counsellor as a private citizen supporting anti-abortion compaigns, for instance (though this may not be prudent, if done very publicly.

WORKSHOPS N. 8,10

General Rapporteur: Klaus SCHLEICHER

Family life education aside from the experiences at national level, each subgroup concentrated most of its interest more on casual than on intentional influences of education and more on the educational process than on educational contents. In particular the subgroups considered how:

. traditional and international values
. economic and social structures
. mass media and schools

are affecting the family, the willingness to set up home and the capacity to live family life. The material problems of the family are nowadays one of the most discussed topics in the family and society. However, also the human ethic and metaphysical dimension of the family should be taken into greater account.

Family life education is generally brought about by values which should be clearly acknowledge, fixed and supported by environmental conditions, educational processes and education offers.

As far as the trend of values is concerned, the three subgroups showed a wide consent:

. Family policy and family life education should consider how life in common, as well as structures and requirements can differ from one family to the other and they should now start dealing with this matter.

. Family policy and family life education should not limit the family with particular advantages, but should help it develop and clearly put forward its own needs and concepts.

. Finally, education should be orientated so as to encourage the full development of the individual and the family through the stimulus to self-education and self-help.

According to the English speaking subgroup, the following factors are of major importance for a family orientated education:

1. The three following dimensions: a lifelong learning, adults' and children's education should be connected to one another in family life education.

2. Open self-helping groups should be urged by the environment to help the families not only bear the consequences of a change, but also actively participate to social and political changes.

3. Education offers and highly horizontally protected communication levels (both among people of the same age anf within a given social class)should be completed by vertical measures for family life education.

4. Changing structure and family relations, particularly those of migrant workers, should be properly taken into account in curricula and in organizations providing educational courses.

5. The various formational standards and the resulting expectations of school and family should be more clearly limited in their difference and equivalence of rights, as to prevent family education from being influenced by school trends.

6. Finally, a preparation to family life at school level should be necessary and should be accomplished through appropriate subjects of study, modified forms or life in the school and above all through a comprehension of values (another ethos) that can ensure its rightfull place to the family.

As a completion to the afore made remarks a few proposals have been made, especially by the French and Italian groups, for a family orientated education:

7. If educational institutions wish to participare properly to family reality and to prepare to family life, they should modify their organizing and offering structures, as well as their teaching rpograms.

8. Family services were originally based on public and free solidarity, so as to meet family problems. Nowadays, however, they are not always able or willing to take into account the conrete needs of the family. Actually, they impose their views on problems and solutions on the family, and they cause difficulties to the family members through the fragmentation of the various types of services.

9. In order to prevent technocrats from establishing their own aims, contents and organizations forms for family services without perfectly knowing the daily problems of the family itself, it would be necessary to support first of all local initiatives for self-aid and exchanges among families.

10. In order to encourage families to self-education and to make the formation of self-helping groups easier, family policy, family services and family life preparation should approach the problems and life conditions of each family with alternative and differentiated strategies and should support their initiatives.

11. Finally, the various family groups and organizations should join, not only at local but also at regional and national level, so as to be able to exert an influence, in the form of advices, on the concepts and decisions of family policy makers.

However, in order to make the family realize better, in the future, its educational function it should be necessary above all to consider the interests and needs of the family in schools, working places and social services.

Family and mass media. The woring groups considered first of all the "human right to the family" , "the individul's rights" and "the rights of media" and connected these rights to one another.

The working groups wodered whether and to what extent mass media are performing their function; is it just because of their presence or also because of the family?

The group remarked that the information supplied by mass media is scarce as regards family policy, incorrect as regards family reality and one-sided as regards family problems (as for instance the problems of violence and abortion).

Family associations and institutions, as well as families themselves, should therefore try to influence mass media actively, since press and television remarkably affect family life.

The following recommendations were made by the working group on the whole:

1. Press and television should develop and respect a "code of ethics" at national and international level.

2. A mass media agency or office should be created in order to follow in particular the developments and interests of family associations, family movements and problems relating to the family.

3. A "family correspondent" should be appointed, for each type

of mass media, to take care of family problems more consciously; in the same way "education correspondents" have existed since the sixties and they usually work for a number of mass media.

4. In the preparation to family life a type of "mass media customer" should be taken into account, in order to make parents and families become more competent in chosing mass media and more skilled in handling them.

The most important aim is, anyhow, the education to an active self-development within the family and the capability of keeping alive the relations among its members since only in this way the dependance on mass media can be limited.

COMUNICAZIONI LIBERE

FREE COMMUNICATIONS

COMMUNICATIONS LIBRES

A.F.A.L.E.

Nous avons été unanimes à manifester notre souci de voir les "actes du Symposium" refléter aussi fidèlement que possible les préoccupations développées par les participants des différents Groupes de travail.

Dans cet esprit, il nous semble que le rapport de synthèse du Groupe "Famille, Santé, Enfance" ne saurait passer sous silence notre sensibilisation aigué au problème inquiétant de l'augmentation du nombre des inadaptés dans notre société post - industrielle, notre recherche des causes de cette évolution et les remèdes concrets proposés pour redresser la barre.

René Lenoir, il y a quelques années, avait déjà annoncé le fait que la société actuelle fabriquait des exclus. Il en arrêtrait le pourcentage à 10%, ce qui était déjà énorme.

Le Dr. Kladny, neuro-psychiâtre, membre de notre Groupe de travail, a souligné, lors des échanges très ouverts que nous avons eus, que ce taux augmentait de 2 à 3 % par an et qu'il atteindrait prochainement le seuil des 20%!

En présence de cette situation, le groupe, sur le plan médical, à émis le voeu de voir valoriser une médecine familiale à titre préventif et curatif, et souhaité la substitution d'une thérapeutique familial au traitement des stricts cas individuels, pratique nous paraissant mieux adaptée aux besoins de de ce temps et à la recherche medicale la plus avancée.

Nous nous sommes attachés également à rechercher les causes au niveau sociologique d'une telle évolution.

L'Europe ne subit-elle pas là les retombées d'une application excessive d'un cartésianisme rigoureux?

Notre propension à l'anlyse et aux distinctions, à une discrimination entre "le physique" et"le spirituel" ne nous a-t-elle pas amenés à ne nous préoccuper trop souvent dans le domaine de la Santé (comme dans d'autres d'ailleurs) à ne traite que le "corps" en soi, oubliant que ce corps physique et psychique n'est lui-même que l'enveloppe d'un "être" et que l'homme est une personne ayant une dimension (et des besoins) spirituelle et religieuse.

Jean Paule II rejoignait ce constat lorsqu'il s'adressait au cours de son récent voyage en France aux jeunes reunis au Par des Princes:

> "l'être humain est un être corporel. Cette affirmation est lourde de conséquences. Si matériel qu'il soit, le corp n'est pas un object parmi d'autres objects. Il est d'abord quelqu' un, manifestation de la personne, moyen de présence aux autres et de communication...."

En coupant ainsi l'être de sa dimension spirituelle, on a fait concrètement de l'homme un homme tronqué, mutilé, amputé.

Au niveau de la société, il en est résulté un traumatisme qui se traduit aujourd'hui par une multiplication d'inadaptés.

De même, les préoccupations religieuses de nos contemporains ne se trouvant pas satisfaites, en raison trop souvent de la réduction du religieux au socio-politique, on assiste à une floraison de "pseudo-religieux" d'une prolifération de sectes , de superstitions de toute sortes, voire au recours à différents succédanés (hélas, au premier chef, par une jeunesse désaxée et désespérée) tels que l'alcool et les drogues pour cambler ce "manque", cam l'homme comme la nature a horreur du vide.

Il est clair que la responsabilité n'en incombe pas aux professions médicales et para-médicales. Cette situation résulte avant tout de l'évolution de la société en un sens de plus en plus technologique et de plus en plus technocratique.

Même au niveau du travail, l'homme se sent de plus en plus dépossédé de son métier, ressent de façon traumatisante être devenu un simple exécutant de tâches souvent définies par la machine dans le cadre de planifications informatiques.

Il est condamné parfois à se recycler deux ou trois fois dans son existence et doit alors changer de cadre de vie, parfois s'exilier.

La première thérapeutique en la circonstance ne devrait-elle pas consister à témoigner dans le concret une plus grande écoute, un plus grand accueil de l'autre (notamment des plus demunis et des plus fragiles) de même qu'à revaloriser la dimens-

ion spirituelle et religieuse de l'homme.

Mais pour un chrétien, n'est-ce pas là toucher du doigt la nécessité d'une réévangélisation en profondeur de notre société qui ne peut être menée à bien qu'à partir d'un apostolat familial et d'une réévangélisation de la famille?

En prenant ainsi en compte l'homme en la globalité de son être et au sein de son milieu naturel qu'est la famille, nous contribuerons, nous semble-t-il, à mettre en oeuvre une politique de la Santé réaliste en au delà à la promotion d'une véritable "écologie spirituelle" .

CENTRO ITALIANO FEMMINILE

Cosa il CIF ha fatto e fa per la donna in Italia

Innanzi tutto è da indicare che il CISF, Centro Italiano Femminile, è un'associazione di massa di ispirazione cristiana, che opera nel civile.

E' presente in tutte le regioni italiane, da nord a sud e nelle isole, in 5.000 comuni.

E' organizzato in analogia con la struttura amministrativa del paese: e così abbiamo il CIF comunale, provinciale, regionale e nazionale con una Presidente, con Consiglio di Presidenza, un Consiglio Nazionale nell'ambito del quale vengono eletti Presidente e Consiglio di Presidenza.

Le cariche si rinnovano ogni tre anni in occasione del Congresso Nazionale, massimo organo deliberante.

Questa, brevemente e per sommi capi, la struttura del CIF.
Le finalità del CIF sono indicate nell'art. 5 del suo statuto, secondo il quale: "Il CIF realizza le proprie finalità:

a) promuovendo la formazione civico-sociale delle aderenti e sostenendo le donne nella presa di coscienza dei propri molteplici ruoli in una società in evoluzione;

b) sollecitando all'interesse e all'azione le energie spontanee della comunité locale, attraverso la conoscenza delle situazioni ambientali e la individuazione del modo di intervento, per lo sviluppo umano della comunità stessa;

c) realizzando servizi sociali e culturali che, seguendo la evoluzione dei bisogni dei singoli e della comunità svolgano un'azione suppletiva ed integrativa dell'intervento pubblico e favoriscano, nel contempo, l'educazione del cittadino al senso comunitario;

d) perseguendo un'azione di orientamento dell'opinione pubblica

e) promuovendo e curando collaborazione con organismi pubblici e privati italiani, esteri ed internazionali in ordine alla realizzazione delle finalità del CIF".

Questo per quanto concerne gli obiettivi, Ma quale l'azione attraverso la quale il CIF cerca di realizzare le sue finalità.

Mi sembra necessario, al riguardo, dare alcuni cenni intorno a due date che sono da considerarsi cruciali.

Innanzi tutto l'anno 1944, cioè l'anno della fondazione del CIF, a Roma, pochi mesi dopo la liberazione, con il sostegno e l'approvazione di Monsignor Montini, allora sostituto. Il CIF è quindi nato quando l'Italia era nella situazione di cui tutti sanno, distrutta, affamata, dopo una guerra disastrosa in parte anche civile.

Tornavano i reduci, la disoccupazione era gravissima. Il CIF, in coerenza con la dottrina sociale della Chiesa, cerca la sua ispirazione nella resistenza, del resto concretamente vissuta da alcune delle sue aderenti, e nei valori che stanno alla base delle istituzioni democratiche.

Entra quindi nella scena storica del paese con fattiva cristiana speranza in un momento di assai incerto avvenire, ma anche nel momento in cui l'Italia si preparava a ricominciare dal punto primo costruendo una nuova costituzione a cui alcune donne del CIF dettero il loro contributo, non solo con la loro forza di pressione, ma anche con la loro effettiva partecipazione: la mozione per il voto alle donne fu presentata dall'allora Presidente del CIF on. Maria Federici.

Il CIF fa leva sulle donne cristiana, per renderle corresponsabili, nella volontà di ricostruzione nazionale, di risanamento morale e, nello stesso tempo, consapevoli della loro dignità e soggettività.

L'idea centrale portata avanti consiste nel favorire l'azione sociale e politica delle donne cristiane, azione che si realizza in opere concrete di educazione, di servizio sociale, di partecipazione agli organismi della vita democratica.

Fin dall'inizio, quindi, il CIF manifesta con chiarezza il suo carattere di fondo: operare dall'interno del mondo fem

minile, cercando di coglierne le attese e le esigenze, risvegliare la coscienza civica delle donne e il senso della loro responsabilità, tenendo presente che i problemi delle donne non sono problemi a sè stanti, sono i problemi della società.

Quindi, in questa prospettiva, il mondo femminile può evolvere e crescere insieme con il mondo civile, nel tentativo di esserne una forza di promozione e di cambiamento.

Per attuare tutto ciò, fin dall'inizio, l'azione si svolge, sostanzialmente su due piani:

1) un intervento nella realtà concreta, a seconda dei bisogni emergenti; e così all'inizio il CIF si preoccuperà dei reduci, dei senza tetto, dei bambini, dei giovani , della lotta contro il mercato nero. Si orienterà, in seguito, verso i servizi: asili nido, scuole materne, consultori, case per anziani e handicappati gravissimi,case di soggiorno per le vacanze ecc.;

2) un'azione di informazione e formazione con corsi e dibattiti per mettere le donne in grado di agire con cognizione di causa.

Questi due piani di azione sono resi possibili dai due livelli che si ritrovano nella sua organizzazione e che ne sono la colonna portante:

- una base che porta avanti la sua azione a partire dai gruppi nel territorio;
- commissioni di studio a livello nazionale i cui risultati vengono portati e dibattuti ed elaborati alla base.

Quindi l'azione è sempre strettamente legata ad iniziative di studio secondo un'opera di divulgazione che è resa possibile anche dall'esistenza di una rivista mensile del CIF "Cronache e opinioni".

Ma non è da dimenticare anche un terzo livello di azione, certamente non meno importante e cioè quello della rivendicazione nei confronti dei poteri pubblici.

Rivendicazione intesa non solo come denuncia e quindi richiesta, ma soprattutto come concreta azione propositiva.

Uno degli strumenti utilizzati dal CIF, fin dal suo sorgere, nella sua azione di educazione e di promozione, è costituito da ciò che oggi viene chiamato ricerca-intervento per conoscere l'opinione femminile riguardo a problemi di grande rilevanza e contemporaneamente, per favorirne una più profonda presa di coscienza.

Interessante ricordare la prima inchiesta condotta dal CIF nel 1949 sul lavoro casalingo a cui parteciparono 100000 donne in tutta Italia e di cui già allora furono messi in evidenza non solo, ovviamente, gli aspetti morali, ma anche quelli economici.

Già fin dal 1947 il CIF si curò di essere presente nei congressi internazionali per un contatto con gli altri paesi europei.

Altra data importante è quella dell'anno 1972, anni in cui il CIF da federazione di 22 enti di ispirazione cristiana (nel ramo femminile) diventa movimento di donne le cui iniziative sono aperte a tutti, nella società, e quindi anche agli uomini; ma, e questa è la sua peculiarità, conserva, a differenza di alcuni altri enti, un carattere specificamente femminile.

Il nuovo statuto, in ogni caso, prevede la costituzione di comitati d'intesa tra enti e associazioni cristiane.

Cosa ha fatto quindi e cosa sta facendo il CIF per le donne?

Come già detto, il CIF non considera i problemi delle donne isolatamente, quindi in modo astratto.

Il CIF non considera la donna quasi fosse una categoria filosofica, ma le donne, quindi in un vissuto quotidiano, esistenziale che si realizza concretamente nella famiglia situata in quel tale contesto sociale, in quel tale territorio, economicamente, socialmente, culturalmente, in una parola storicamente, connotato.

Ricorderò, per brevi cenni, alcuni dei contributi dati dal CIF:

1950 - Legge n. 860 sulla tutela giuridica ed economica delle lavoratrici madri;
1956 - legge n. 1441 che riguarda la partecipazione delle donne all'amministrazione della giustizia nelle Corti d'Assise e nei tribunali dei minorenni;
1958 - legge n. 264 in materia di tutela del lavoro a domicilio presupposto della legge n. 877 del 1973 di iniziativa del governo e di alcuni parlamentari fra cui Tina Anselmi;
1959 - istituzione della polizia femminile per la prevenzione e la protezione sociale delle donne e dei minori;
1963 - acquisizione, da parte delle donne, del diritto a non essere licenziate dal posto di lavoro in caso di matrimonio;
1963 - ammissione delle donne a tutti i pubblici uffici senza limitazioni di carriera;
1963 - legge che istituisce la mutualità pensione per casalinghe
1967 - legge sull'adozione speciale;

1971 - legge n. 1044 sugli asili nido, servizio in aiuto e non in sostituzione della famiglia;
1971 - legge n. 1204 sulla tutela delle lavoratrici madri.

Abbiamo poi la data importantissima per la famiglia:

1975 - legge n. 151, il nuovo diritto di famiglia in cui la famiglia viene riconosciuta come comunità fondata sulla parità dei rapporti fra i coniugi anche nei confronti dei figli. La riforma è stata a lungo studiata dal CIF anche nel Convegno "Famiglia e poteri pubblici" del 1968;
1975 - legge n. 405 sui consultori familiari. Il CIF ha attivamente operato e tuttora opera perchè i consultori vengano visti come servizio alla famiglia in termini globali e non restrittivi, che, cioè, venga attuata compiutamente la legge;
1977 - legge che regola la parità di trattamento fra uomo e donna in materia di lavoro.

Riguardo alla legge sul divorzio, ma, soprattutto, riguardo a quella sulla liberalizzazione dell'aborto, (legge n.194,1978), il CIF si è fermamente opposto in tutti i modi possibiliti, operando secondo una logica di difesa della vita e della dignità della persona umana.

Cosa ha fatto il CIF per la donna e sta facendo, in questo ultimo anno:

. la sua commissione di studio che ha lavorato per due anni interdisciplinarmente sui problemi della condizione della donna ed ha cui hanno partecipato diversi studiosi delle diverse discipline, ha compiuto una prima fase dei suoi lavori i cui risultati sono di prossima pubblicazione;

. ha partecipato ai lavori della Commissione Nazionale in preparazione della Conferenza Nazionale per l'Anno Internazionale del Bambino;

. ha organizzato un Convegno sul volontariato considerato allo interno della logica della partecipazione nel territorio;

. ha organizzato un dibattito sulla tutela giudiziaria per il bambino in Italia ed è riemersa, in termini attuali, la problematica dell'istituzione di un Tribunale della famiglia,già approfonditamente studiato negli anni passati in connessione con la riforma del diritto di famiglia: Tale tribunale è specializzato per la famiglia dovrebbe avere competenza su tutte le questioni familiari attualmente demandate ad una pluralità di organi giudiziari. Infatti i problemi ed i conflitti che sorgono nella famiglia non possono essere esaminati separatamente e da parte di giudici diversi senza recare grave pregiudizio al contesto unitario della comunità familiare;

. ha organizzato un corso di formazione per i suoi quadri dirigenti sulla problematica della famiglia;

. ha partecipato ai tre gruppi di studio, sanità, lavoro e istruzione per la stesura del documento ufficiale che verrà presentato dalla delegazione governativa in occasione della Conferenza Mondiale sulla donna che si terrà a Copenhagen in luglio.

Quanto sopra, per sommi capi e sommariamente alcune delle cose che il CIF ha fatto per le donne e per la famiglia.

Qualcosa è stato fatto, tuttavia, se il contributo che il CIF ha dato con coraggio e coerenza, pur nei limiti e nelle sofferte incertezze di ogni vicenda umana, può essere ragione di soddisfazione, non è, senz'altro, ragione di autocompiacimento.

Quanto è stato raggiunto finora, pur essendo un patrimonio è da considerarsi soltanto una partenza.

Infatti, il mondo in cui viviamo è un mondo pluralistico in conflitto, in cambiamento rapidissimo e simultaneo, in crisi non soltanto, anche se soprattutto, di valori e personali e civili; c'è quindi, bisogno urgente di una "rifondazione" e di una "ricostruzione" a partire dal rafforzamento del sociale,nel territorio.

La persona, donna o uomo che sia, la famiglia sono nel sociale.

Anzi, al riguardo, è da anticipare che su decisione del Consiglio Nazionale, nel prossimo dicembre, il CIF organizzerà un Convegno sulla famiglia e sulle implicazioni che comporta, a livello politico, in quanto primo gruppo umano organizzato , unità sociale di base, una sua soggettività.

Ed è a favore della persona, della famiglia che il CIF concentra tutti i suoi sforzi per un impegno di partecipazione che possiamo considerare la sfida degli anni '80; una partecipazione da intendersi quasi, come una mobilitazione, a partire dalle donne cristiane, nel territorio, richiamandosi idealmente a quei principi, a quella volontà di servizio che sono stati alla base del suo stesso nascere nel lontano 1944 quando tutto era da ricominciare.

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Wolfgang KOHLSTRUCK

Im Bericht über die Arbeitsgruppe 1/2 ist auf die große Bedeutung der Familienorganisationen bei der Verwirklichung einer Arbeitszeitverkürzung hingewiesen worden. Darum erscheint es mir wichtig, zwei Gedanken etwas deutlicher auszuführen, die wegen der Kürze der Zeit im Bericht nur knapp dargestellt werden konnten.

1. Zu recht wurde festgestellt, daß die Verwirklichung der Arbeitszeitverkürzung flexibel gestaltet werden sollte, wo immer dies möglich ist. Es gibt aber Bereiche des Beschäftigung, wo nur einheitliche Regelungen getroffen werden können z.B. in der industriellen Produktion.Die Familienorganisationen sollten dafür eintreten, daß in diesen Bereichen die Arbeitszeitverkürzung als Verkürzung der täglichen Arbeitszeit eingeführt wird.
Diese entspricht am stärksten den Bedürfnissen der Familie , weil:

- sie es ermöglicht, Aufgaben in der Familie und berufliche Pflichten besser miteinander in Einklang zu bringen;
- die Wahlfreiheit zugunsten einer neuen Rollenverteilung zwischen Mann und Frau vergrößert und die Wiedereingliederung des Mannes in die familie ermöglicht;
- sie mehr Zeit für die Erziehung der Kinder, insbesondere für den Kontakt mit den Kleinkindern, auf den diese besonders angewiesen sind, erschließt;
- sie ein Weng ist, die Redeutung des Familienlebens gegenüber den Anforderungen der Arbeitswelt nachdrücklich zu understreichen;

- sie des Gesundheit deshalb förderlich ist, weil sie den biologischen Rhytmus des Menschen, der auf den einzelnen Tag bezogen ist, entspricht.

Das gilt insbesondere dann, wenn in Zuge einer längeren Entwicklung eine Verkürzung der täglichen Arbeitszeit um meht als eine Stunde möglich werden wird.

2. Für die Finanzierung der Rentenversicherung gilt heute was früher für die Alterssicherung innerhalb der Familie galt: Grundvoraussetzung ist, daß kinder da sind, die später als Erwachsene die Mittel erarbeiten, mit denen die älteren Personen versorgt wereden sollen. Darum legen die Familien, die kinder habed, die Grundlagen für die Alterssicherung auch der Personen, die keine kinder haben. Dies sollte bei der Bemessund der Beiträge zur Sozialversicherung berücksichtight werden. Eltern sollten darum für die Zeit, in der sie kinder versorgen, einen verringerten Beitrag zur Alterssicherung entrichten. Reduziert man auch den Beitrag des Arbeitgebers, dann kann diesem eher zugemutet werden, Eltern mit Kindern besondre Vergünstigungen ("Soziale Elternrechte" - Statut parental, val. Ziff. 3) zu gewähren.

3. Der Inhalt der sozialen Elternrechte sollte genauer beschrieben werden. Nach einen Vorschlag von COFACE umfassen sie vor allem:

- den Ausbau des Mutterschutzes
- zusätzliche Erholungskuren
- Sonderurlaub bei Erkrankung eines kindes,
- bei Unterbrechung der Erwerbstätigkeit zum Zwecke der Erziehung der Kinder: Ausgleichzahlungen während dieser Zeit ("Erziehungsgeld"), die Gleichstellung der Erziehungstätigkeit mit Erwerbstätigkeit in der Kranken-, Invaliden - und Alterssicherung ohne Entrichtung von Beiträgen und Hilfen zur Wiederaufnahme der Erwerbstätigkeit der Erziehungszeit.

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Lauri KRUUS

Housing in Finland

It is stated that the French revolution gave the right to the European to live even under the bridges. This mental freedom prevails partly in Finland in summer time. One single Finnish alcoholist visited his friend in the nearest city looked around and said to his comrade, "here you stay and contribute but where is your residence". The other said: "No need of housing in summertime, you know". This leads to two serious fundamental problems. The first one concerns specially Finland. The change of summer and winter creates special frames for housing.

An ordinary Finn spends three quarters of his time in his department and if neighbourhood is included so 80% of time spent at home. The other basic problem is human and concerns the relation between the status of living and the values of life. Housing is connected with many values of human life, health, human relations, establishing a family, educationg children and motivation for work. In this presentation I concentrate in describing housing and inter-family communications.

During the last ten or twenty years numerically more apartments were built in Finalnd than in other Nordic countries (table 1) 67,4 apartments were built per one thousand people during

the last five years. This is 15,8 apartments more than in Sweden, 17,7 more than in Norway and 18,2 more than in Denmark per 1000 people during the same period.

The special Finnish residential features

The area of the ready built departments in Finland was 75m^2 in average. This is 15 m^2 less than in Norway, 30 m^2 less than in Sweden and 45 m^2 less than in Denmark (table 2). One room flats, unsuitable for family use, were built annually about 12 -20%. Elsewhere in Europe the corresponding number was 1-3% . Finns have built many minor sized flats. The continuous trend , however,intends to enlarge the areal size of individual flats.

Another special feature is a rapid urbanization as far as the building process is concerned. The state of Finland 23 years age financed 10.000 National Housing Board loans for people living in cities and an equal quantity was financed By National Board of Agriculture loans. 20 years later only 1000 loans were financed for farm houses but 33.000 for people living in cities (table 3). In the year 1950 32% of the people lived in the cities and in the year 1970 more than 60% were city inhabitants. The third special feature is the high procuring price but at the same time a high standard of equipment. Despite the state's supporting commissions housing expenses are 1/5, travelling between home and work expenses 1/5 and food expenses 1/4 in average, in families with children.

Among young families one of six their first department themselves, one of six lives together with their paretns in the beginning and 2/3 have got a rented department or are sub-tenants. In many places in Finland there are defects. Growded, expensive unsuitable flats cause many problems and difficulties. This can be seen in the reduce of the number of children and in the plentiness of divorces and discord of family life.

How families live

Children in Finnish families are born in period of two years in average. The most common number is 2. The birth of the first child causes new demands on living and housing. This also causes difficulties to mother to work outside home. In Finland women usually work outside home. Domestic work takes about 3 hours a day of women's time and men participate in domestic tasks about one hour a day.

The expences of procuring the department causes economic insecurity, this is a burden to the young family especially at the time of the birth of the first-born child. On the other way round for the growth of the essential security of the child the relation between parents should be safe and stabile. Density of living in Finland is less than one person per room but families,, which have got a younger child than 6 years old have got less room. Removal to larget departments happens during the first years of marriage in urban conditions. More than a half of those couples who have been married longer than 7 years have changed a flat, mo

re than a quarter twice and one in twenty as many as five times. The causes of the removal was in 39,4% of case the small size of flat and in 17,5% of cases the changes of location (table 4).

The average area of the flat grows wider during six years from 41 m^2 to 73,1 m^2. The play-aged child needs a chance to isolate and he should also have a chance to play together with other children or close to his parents. The department of two grown-ups and two pre school-aged children would be a department of three rooms and a kitchen. The size of the roon where the children play should be large enough. Some of the lacks concerning the children are that their activities are limited by the environment. 85% of the children being at play-age don't go further than 100 m apart from home. If the distance between playground and home i longer than 100 meters, the playground is of no use any more. The environment is perfectly completed in general. This doesn't motivate the child to develope the ability to finisch his activities. The child has not got a chance to observe his or her parents at work. In this context the process of housing has been negative from the child's point of view.

A house of one's own, a semidetached or a terraced house migh suit for a child, but they are too expensive for the families with children. While examining the leisure time of those families having schoolaged children it was found out that schoolaged children spend more of their time ouside in the neighbourhood than at home. Most of the time spent at home was watching TV, after that eating and then reading. Fathers spent their time on watching TV and reading, mothers besides these on domestic work. Most of Finnish flats have been built for these purposes. The living room has been furnished as a TV theatre. Obviously the department doesn't offer other alternatives for the hobbies. Hard work, long distances between work and home are the reasons for the passive watching of the ready-made TV-programmes.

A department should offer chances for the following activities: (IUFO and IFHP)

General needs	Special needs
Communications in the families	1. Mixing between the family - family life - motion - relaxation - meals - guests
Life in sections in the family	2 the life of the spouses - together with the children - intimacy - rest - physical training

General needs	Special needs
	3. The life of the children
	- playing together - playing alone - working - recreation - rest - guests - physical exercise
Individual life	4. Individual and private life
	- carrying on a trade - cultural activity - working - motion - recreation - rest
Inter family life and life in family sections	5. Family maintenance
	- storage - cooking - hygience

Children living in over crowded flats have got less hobbies,and communications between same aged friends more limited, and doing homework is more difficult than children living in semidetached houses. Except the size and the usage of the room, the sound is olation's quality effects the family welfare.

The price of land, the prevailing conditions for land owing, and the profitability of construction work has during last tenor twenty years delivered plentiful suburbs with high density of population. In the beginning these sections were occupied by people with small income, people who left without any availability of cultural life or hobbies. The legislation concerning the interiors and technical conditions of a house or a flat in Finland is very strict and the standard of various equipments required is one of the highest in the world. In this form of building construction planning of yards and playgrounds and services have been most neglected.

The suburban building has separated social classes. Various forms of constructions are made for wealthy and poor people,for young and elderly persons for married couples with and without children. At the same time the difficulties and problems have accumulated in certain residential sections in any Finnish town.

Especially for young people and for the couples with children this kind of building has been a bad solution. The lack of interaction between and among different individuals manifestates as misanthrophy. The rich live in their own houses, semidetached or terreced houses, with green gardens arount but they have only few children. Big families with plenty of children usually live in massive concrete jungles crowded with people.

CONCLUSIONS

The adverising and building of residences in Finland propose mainly a rich middle-aged, single persons and his needs. Family policy and housing policy would be worth of paying attention to. The legality of national economy and the insufficiency of the social supporting activities lead families with children to the difficulties in housing. Just now also in Finalnd there are studies about the correlations between housing, and health illnesses and the way of living. People who live at the level of existence minimum don't take care of housing. Or could it be so that living from childhood up at the lowest standard of housing has decreased piece by piece the desire to existence and to establish a family.

TABLE 1

The number od dwellings built in Nordic countries

year of building	Island	Norway	Finland	Sweden	Denmark
1973	2200	44.714	62.358	97.484	55.575
1974	2193	41.557	73.033	85.300	48.600
1975	2063	43.548	69.408	74.500	35.525
1976	2172	42.681	57.498	55.800	39.225
1977	2300	38.597	56.966	54.900	36.275
1978	-	39.590	54.865	53.800	34.225
Dwellings/1000 persons					
1979	10.5	10.6	13.4	12.0	11.1
1974	10.2	9.8	15.6	10.5	9.6
1975	9.5	10.2	14.7	9.1	7.0
1976	9.9	10.2	12.2	6.8	7.7
1977	10.4	9.2	12.0	6.7	7.1
1978	-	9.7	11.5	6.5	6.7

TABLE 2

The Area of Departments in Average M^2

Year of building	Island	Norway	Finland	Sweden	Denmark
1973	132.0	83.2	69.4	82.6	124.0
1974	130.5	84.2	69.3	94.3	126.0
1975	130.0	83.4	70.9	100.7	123.0
1976	150.0	85.8	73.5	108.9	122.0
1977	-	89.6	75.0	112.8	127.0
1978	-	-	84.3	-	126.0

These knowlidges are not perfectly comparable

TABLE 3

Dwellings financed by Arava/National Housing Board and by National Board Agriculture Loand in 1957-1978

year of building	dwellings finances by Arava/National Housing Board Loans	dwelling financed by National Board Agriculture Loans
1957	9.681	10.754
1958	9.532	8.350
1959	9.923	9.829
1960	8.539	4.684
1961	8.311	4.966
1962	6.490	4.004
1963	7.538	3.578
1964	9.263	2.429
1965	9.144	2.468
1966	11.465	2.823
1967	12.739	1.693
1968	15.330	698
1969	19.262	1.040
1970	20.707	794
1971	22.110	861

1972	31.710	877
1973	36.450	787
1974	34.514	905
1975	35.466	1.119
1976	37.499	1.097
1977	32.712	1.107
1978	33.100	640

TABLE 4

The cause of removal during 1971-1978 in twns and in country side informed by the couples married 1971

	% in towns	% in countryside
1. Flat too small for growing family	39.4	28.3
2. Eviction, the owner of flats gives notice	9.3	3.8
3. Wish to have one's own flat	11.2	18.9
4. The pear of eviction	0.6	1.9
5. Flat unuitable	4.1	4.7
6. Change of Job townich the flat belongs	8.4	13.7
7. Change of locality	17.5	22.6
8. Better salary or in heritance	6.7	4.2
9. Unuitable neighbour hood	2.8	1.9
	100	100

Renato MION

Casa e famiglia

Mancanza di abitazioni uguale malessere sociale

1. Il problema della casa suppone un'approccio teorico differenziato, data la complessità degli aspetti ad esso connessi. Si può considerare la casa da un'angolatura:

   1.1. architettonica, ed allora può diventare espressione di status-symbol per la famiglia

   1.2 urbanistica, così da comprendere il problema dell'assetto e della distribuzione territoriale;

   1.3. psicologia, come garante di una certa privatezza della famiglia e fattore di stabilità e crescita della personalità, come spazio di autonomia e sicurezza di vita;

   1.4. socio-economica, come problema che investe le responsabilità della società chiamata a costruire la città a misura d'uomo;

1.5. giuridico-politico, così da coinvolgere le politiche abitative in ascolto dei bisogni della famiglia, dei nuovi tipi di povertà emergenti anche nell'attuale società italiana, e dei nuovi diritti della persona, tra cui quello della casa sembra oggi divenuto primario.

2. Sulla base di un approccio sociologico mi soffermerò su alcune rilevazioni ricavate dall'ambiente italiano.

2.1. Sembra ormai acquisito nella coscienza popolare operaia che il diritto alla casa sia uno dei nuovi diritti inalienabili dellapersona. Chi non ha visto sui muri delle nostre città slogans come: "la casa ai lavoratori!" "La casa è un diritto!"? o chi non ha assistito ad occupazioni abusive di appartamenti sfitti?

2.2. D'altra parte la casa rimane un miraggio oggi difficilmente raggiungibile nelle attuali condizioni economiche, specialmente per le giovani coppie.

2.2.1. Il regime degli affitti, regolato da due anni dalla legge dell'equo canone è un discorso chiuso. Considerata la bassa redditività di un tale regime, nessuno vuole più dare appartamenti in affitto.

2.2.2. Il regime degli acquisti diventa impensabile per chi gode solo di un reddito di lavoro. I prezzi degli appartamenti sono altissimi, il costo del denario scavalca sempre il suo potere di acquisto, i mutui indicizzati, cioè a rate crescenti nel tempo, e agevolati, non sono accessibili a tutti.

Le coppie giovani sono costrette a pagare rate annuali molto pesanti proprio all'inizio della loro attività lavorativa, quando il reddito complessivo è più basso.
I troppo poveri non hanno un minimo di contatti per incominciare ad acquistare e i troppo ricchi non possono sperare nel mutuo agevolato.

2.3. Il costo di produzione edilizia è gravato per il 18 % di oneri fiscali e del 12% di oneri finanziari.
L'edilizia è vittima di una legislazione che distrugge l'investimento, ma insieme si presenta priva di credibilità,per un intreccio diventato opinione tra produzione e speculazione.

2.4. Molte, troppe scelte esistenziali sono legate all'avere o no una casa.

2.4.1. Avere una casa significa avere o non avere una maniera di vivere, ed uno speciale stile di vita legato al tipo di casa.
. Decidere di sposarsi e vivere insieme in uno spazio autonomo dai propri genitori esige un appartamento minimo.
In Italia nel 1978, si sono formate, 2,2 nuove famiglie per ogni nuova abitazione costruita, nel Sud e Isole tale rapporto è di 6,3 a 1.

. Decidere di avere un figlio talora è condizionato dal la reperitbilità di un appartamento più grande.
. Anziani soli, che vivono in case popolari, costruite con uno schema fisso spesso sono costretti a chiedere un posto all'ospizio perchè non trovano piccoli alloggi con affitti abbordabili.

2.4.2. Emerge l'esigenza di un alloggio diverso per le diverse fasi del ciclo della vita matrimoniale. Se prima gli anziani raramente venivano lasciati soli, ora i figli se ne vanno presto, spesso studiano in altre città. I giovani preferiscono un monolocale attrezzatissimo al centro della città, mentre i genitori amano trasferirsi in zone più verdi e silenziose

2.5.Ne nasce un malessere psicologico dei più giovani che non hanno libertà di scelta.

. le coppie fiovani (1 su 4) si adattano alla coabitazione coi genitori o a sistemazioni provvisorie che spesso provocano dissapori proprio negli anni difficili del rodaggio e della convivenza a due.

. inoltre il fenomeno della coabitazione coi genitori tende ad assumere un carattere permanente e strutturale che non sembra risolversi col tempo, portando con sè una crescente dipendenza dalla protezione familiare.

3. La povertà abitativa urbana (assieme alla povertà da reddito, da lavoro, da ambiente, da salute, da organizzazione sociale) colpisce ancora i gruppi socialmente più deboli:i giovani, i pensionati, e proprio là dove più alto è il tenore di vita: la città.
E' una povertà "sommersa", la cui matrice non è soltanto economica legata a carenze istituzionali (sanità, servizi sociali, ma anche culturale per le crisi di identificazione che essa comporta.
Quasi è una povertà negata, la si esorcizza, per l'inconsistenza degli sforzi orientati a conoscere la natura, l'entità e i suoi meccanismi di produzione. L'intero sistema sociale però finisce lui stesso per essere colpito da questa scarsità di analisi sulla povertà e dallo slittamento verso l'alto delle aspirazioni generali di vita.

4. Occorre che la produzione edilizia e l'iniziativa imprenditoriale riacquisti credibilità.

Occorre inoltre che:

. si incrementi l'edilizia pubblica e convenzionata
. si incrementi una politica di difesa e di garanzia del risparmio ("la casa è la figlia del risparmio")
. si affronti la riforma dell'equo canone
. si riformi l'apparato di gestione del patrimonio abitativo pubblico;
. Si ricerchi un parco di aree fabbricabili con uno sviluppo urbanistico e territoriale che permetta esperienze di unità e di profondi rapporti interpersonali a misura di uomo. Una città nuova prima che impresa tecnica è il risultato di un progetto comune, ossia di un'unità fra persone

e gruppi che la precedono. Questa unità di fatto non si realizza se non esistono una fede e tensione ideale verso una migliore qualità della vita. Nella società in cui attualmente viviamo non esistono esperienze di unità profondamente intense, che stimolino il rapporto fra le persone.

Conclusione:

"La casa come servizio sociale" è l'alternativa al totalitarismo di rapina dell'edilizia privata e al totalitarismo paternalista dell'edilizia pubblica.

Vivie PAPADIMITRIOS

Report on the Programs of the Center of Family and Child Care
Period: 1978-1979

"The Center for the Care of Family and Child, following its typical formation: September 1978 - dealt originally with cases concerning matters of family relations.

The Director of the Center was in charge with the evaluation and collaboration with the persons that visited the center (in a private house) whome she referred, according to each case, to scientists working for the center, such as the psychiatrist, the psychologist, the Legal Council of the Center.

The number of the cases varried between 20 and 25.

In October 1978, a group consisting of 3 social workers, the Director and a psychologist (scientists working for the center), cas assigned with the survey and application of a research work concerning the refugees' children temporarily residing in Greece, to determine their psychological and social neds.

This research work will be completed at the end of the year.

With the opportunity of the year of the child, the Public Relations Committee of the center organized four (4) events for the children of the Lavrion refugees and offered toys, presents to them.

The same committee organized a Christmas party in December 1979, in Athens, for the children of refugee famlies families residing in the Aigaleo district and Peristeri.

In February 1979, a group of students of the Social Work School of the Company for the Protection of Minor Children, conduced a research survey in the area of Karea, to determine the needs of the residents (related to family problems, needs, occupation of young people, etc.).

The findings of these research surveys, and the previous collaboration (and research studies) of the Director with local and ecclesiastical officials of the area, (research study of the Archbishopric of Athens 1972 having as objective

a) the problems of unwed mothers
b) the problems of illegitimate children
c) the determination of the reasons of divorces

urged the Board of Directors of the Center to seek the cause for the installation of a relevant service in the area.

The heartly collaboration of the Ministry of Social Services gave the possibility to install an office of the center in the Home of Old Age Persons of Karea.

Although the conditions of this installation were not ideal yet the esistence of such a service in that environment was ever more suitable due to the objectives of the work.

Thus, in June 1979 the office of the center was installed in the Old Age Persons Home, and a Social Worker was appointed for full time work. (This is the first time that the center uses salaried employees, for, all other persons work voluntarily).

The purpose of the office of the Center at Kareas was to apply the anticipated programs of the center in a frame of communal programming.

At the beginning, the Director of the Center and a social worker visited local and ecclesiastical officials of the area, the directors of the Schools of Secondary education, Presidents of the area's associations, Plants Directors and others in order to apprise them of the objectives of the Service.

People started to visit the service daily and according to their needs they either worked closely with the scientists of the Center or were referred to other services.

The Social Service of the Center deals with the following cases:

a) cases of family problems
b) cases with disturbed marriage relations
c) cases of illegal cohabitation
d) Of old people who live alone and are faced with family problems, and
e) unadjusted and problematic children.

The cases number 70.

The Social Worker, the Director and the collaborators (scientists) of the center (psyciatrist, psychologist and Legal Counsel) are in close contact with most of the cases above. The Center is studying the organization of a Consulting Station to work closely with a psychiatrist psychologist-Family-Counsel-Social Worker in order to cope with the special cases and to offer proper advise and guidance to the walk-ins at the area of Karea.

The Social Service of the Center, as of June dealth especially with the group of old age people who live in the Home.

a) social work on each case's merits
b) organizing recreational programs for old age people.

The old men and women were entertained four times and the relative program included music, moovie picture, sweets and a tour to a seaside area of Attika.

The Volunteers Committee of the Center, which is in constant collaboration with the Social Service of Karea assisted in the programming and general success of the above events.

Since October 1979 7 students of the Schools of Social Work were placed in the Social Service, and these students are being trained in the application of all three methods of Social work.

A. Case, B Group, C. Community

Besides the Cases section, the Social Services of the Center at Karea has developed the following sections:

Section of Old Age People:

A committe consisting of a group of old age people (From the old Age Home of Karea), two volunteers of the Center, assisted by two students social workers, is studying and coordinating the proposed desires and the problems of the old age people.

Laboratory group for old age people:

This group is composed by old age people of the home familiar or interested in the handcraft, whowork closely with a professor of handicraft of the YMCA of Piraeus, and voluntors of the Center working closely with a student social worker.

This group aim to organize a bazar, the profits of which will be offered for a project to be chosen by the old age people (such as the creation of a canteen, or a small chapel etc).

This group is also programming the Organization of an exhibition with objects made by old refugees (of their origin) as wel as other events with other old age people of the area taking part in them.

The Center is studying the organization of a Medico-Pharmaceutical Committee for the assistance of the old age men consisting of a group of volunteer medical doctors and nurses of the Greek Red Cross.

The entire coordination of this work is assumed by the Social Worker of the Center, with the collaboration of students social workers.

Collaboration Section of spouses-parents:

A committee has been composed of spouses and parents (after relevant collaboration with the Board of Directors of the Parents and Guardians' Associations of the Schools, and the Schools" Directors of the area), which has set a program of spedches, the subjects of which concern the relations between spouses, problems of parents in upringing their children etc.).

Persons working in the center are assigned with the implementation of these educational programs.

The coordination of this work is assumed by the Social Worker who is assisted in this respect by two students social workers.

Sections of Young Men:

A committee composed of young people of the area, has been formed, following relevant collaboration with the associations and unions of Karea.

This Committe assembles the desires and propositions of members brought to the center by each representative and sets up a program of speeches etc. (education before marriage,narcotics etc.)

The Committe is also studying the creation of a Club so that people have the chance to read, attend films, and come into contact with expert scientists.

The Social Worker of the Center assisted by two students social workers is also in charge with the coordination of this committee.

The work of this Social Worker at Kareas is supervised by the Director of the Center who is in close collaboration with the social worker and the students and suveys cases, overseeing the entire work of the service.

The students social workers, the Social Worker, and the Director meet together every week, in order to evaluate and schedule the work of the groups and of the committees.

The scientific committee of the center is also in contact with the Director and the Social Worker, very frequently in order to evaluate and coordinate the work of the center at Kareas.

A group of volunteer ladies - 12 - in the center is also inclose collaboration with the Social Service of the center at Kareas.

This group meets quite often with the Social Worker of the center who coordinates their various activities to con - form with the need of the service.

Lately, the Board of Directors of the center in order to cope with the cases in the central area of Athens, rented a small office in the center of Athens.

At the moment various volunteer ladies work by turns

The Director of the center receives the people in the central office, and accordingto the problems arising there of comes into contact and collaborates with the scientists - working for the center.

It should be mentioned that the center needs immediately two more social workers, who will work for the offices of Athens and at the center at Kareas, respectively. The increase of the number of social workers will greatly assist the work of the center in order to cope with the continually increasing number of cases and the fulfillment of the communal program at the center of Kareas.

We owe many thanks to the Ministry of Social Services , the under-secretary, the General Director, for the assistance which they offered to us, for the space which they made available and the economic assistance.

What has been done is too little. We believe that God will help our project so that with the contribution of the honorable Ministry of Social Services we will go forward.

Supplement:

As of May 1979 the Center for the care of Family and Child in collaboration with the World Council of Churches under took the organizing of a consulting services for the refugees of Aigaleo, by applying the objectives of the center.

Refugees who live in Grece temporarily, come to the center to solve their problems which concern their family relations and difficulties in adjusting in the new environment.

The building of the center belongs to YMCA and was offered to house this service in the World Council of Churches.

Two social workers work in the refugees center, who work closely with:

1) the personal cases of refugees
2) with groups created according to the special interest of adult and children

The cases in the center of refugees amount epproximately to 80 per month. This figure is not always steady due to the special conditions concerning movement of these refugees. The social workers and the functioning of the center of refugees is sponsored by the World Council of Churches. The Board of Directors of the center for the Care of Family and Child through its Director Mrs. Vasiliki Papadimitriou, who is offering her work voluntarily, is in charge of the entire work described above.

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